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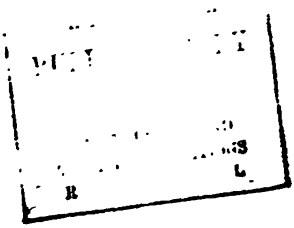

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J. Gwin delin. J. Hall sculp.

THE

WORKS

OF

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH.

WITH

Notes, Hiſtorical and Critical.

By T. SMOLLET, M. D.

T. FRANCKLIN, M. A. and OTHERS.

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WITH this view Philip fitted out that prodigious fleet, which was to have been ſeconded in its operations by another armament from Flanders, and a general riſing of all the catholics in England. Theſe preparations proved the ruin of Mary Stewart, and hurried her to the ſcaffold, inſtead of delivering her from it. Philip had now nothing left but to revenge her death by ſeizing upon England for himſelf; after which he looked upon Holland as already reduced, and puniſhed for its rebellion. 1587.

The gold of Peru was laviſhed for the purpoſes of this expedition. The Invincible Armada ſet ſail from the port of Liſbon, with one hundred and fifty large ſhips, manned with twenty thouſand ſoldiers, near ſeven thouſand ſeamen who could be armed for fight upon occaſion, and mounted with three thouſand pieces of cannon. The duke of Parma was ready with tranſports, and an army of thirty thouſand men, which he had raiſed in Flanders, to-

June 3d. 1588.

[redacted] Philip the Infant of his landing in Eng[redacted] ſhips, which were no more than ſmall barks in compariſon with thoſe of the Spaniards, to ſtand againſt the force of theſe floating citadels, whoſe upper works were above three feet thick, and impenetrable to cannon *. Nevertheleſs, this well concerted ſcheme failed in almoſt every part. The Engliſh ſoon appeared with a fleet of one hundred ſail, and notwithſtanding their inferiority in bulk, numbers, and ſtrength, ſtopped the progreſs of this formidable fleet. They took ſeveral of the Spaniſh ſhips, and diſperſed the reſt by the means of fire ſhips; a ſtorm ſeconded the efforts of the Engliſh. The admiral's ſhip, called the Invincible, was very near being loſt on the coaſt of Zealand. The duke of Parma's army, which could not put to ſea without the aſſiſtance of the Spaniſh fleet, remained in-

* This is a vague expreſſion. Provided thoſe ſhips were within point blank ſhot of a battering cannon, twice the thickneſs here deſcribed would not have rendered them impenetrable.

active.

active. Philip's navy, unable to reſiſt the Engliſh and the winds, which were always contrary to them, retreated round the North Seas; ſome were wrecked upon the coaſt of Zealand, and others upon the Orkney iſlands, and the coaſts of Scotland; and another part was caſt away upon the coaſt of Ireland, where the country people maſſacred all the ſoldiers and ſailors who had eſcaped the fury of the tempeſt, and the viceroy had the inhumanity to hang the reſt. In ſhort, of the whole armada only fifty ſhips returned to Spain, and of thirty thouſand men, who had ſailed on this expedition, no more than ſix thouſand eſcaped from ſhipwreck, and the ſword and fire of the enemy.

The duke of Parma, with his fine army of thirty thouſand men, had no better ſucceſs in ſubduing the Netherlands, than the invincible armada had had in its attempt upon England. The Hollanders, who found a ready defence in their canals, ſluices, and narrow cauſeways, who were fond of liberty to a degree of idolatry, and were all become generals under their princes of Orange, were in a condition to have reſiſted a much more formidable force.

Philip was the only prince who could have continued formidable after ſo great a diſaſter; but America and Aſia ſtill ſupplied him with riches, which made all his neighbours tremble; and, after having failed in his deſign upon England, he ſaw himſelf upon the point of reducing the kingdom of France to a province of Spain.

At the ſame time that he was making the conqueſt of Portugal, carrying on the war in

Flanders, and engaged in the expedition againſt England, he raiſed that faction in France, known by the name of the Holy League, which ſubverted the throne, and diſtracted the nation; and afterwards by ſowing diſſenſion in that very league which he had protected, he was thrice on the point of being declared ſovereign of France, under the title of protector, with an unlimited power of conferring all poſts. His daughter, the infanta Eugenia, was to have been queen, under his direction; and the crown of France was to have been transferred in dowry with her to the perſon ſhe ſhould marry. This propoſal had been actually made by the cabal of ſixteen, in the year 1589, after the murder of Henry III. The duke of Mayenne, who was head of the league, had no other way of eluding it, than by ſaying, "That, as the league had been formed upon account of religion, the title of protector of France could belong only to the pope." Philip's ambaſſador had carried this negotiation to a great length, before the holding of the eſtates of Paris, in 1593; inſomuch that it was a long time in deliberation, how to aboliſh the ſalic law: and, at length, the infanta was propoſed as queen to the ſtates of Paris.

Philip had inſenſibly accuſtomed the French to a dependence upon him; for, on one hand, he ſupplied the league with ſufficient ſuccours to prevent its falling, and, on the other, he aſſiſted his ſon-in-law, Emanuel, duke of Savoy, with forces againſt France. He kept troops in pay for him, and aſſiſted him in getting himſelf declared protector by the parliament of Pro-

Provence; ſo that the French, grown familiar with theſe proceedings, might acknowlege Philip as protector of the whole kingdom.

It is more than probable, that France in the end would have been forced to do it. Philip, in fact, already reigned in Paris by his ambaſſador, who laviſhed penſions upon all who were in his intereſt. He had the Sorbonne, and all the religious orders on his ſide. His ſcheme was not to make France a conquered country, as he had done Portugal, but to oblige that nation to requeſt him to govern it. It was with this view, that he diſpatched the duke of Parma from the 1590
farther end of the Netherlands to ſuccour Paris, when puſhed by the victorious arms of Henry III; recalled him again, when by his judicious marches he had delivered that capital, without ſtriking a blow; and, afterwards, when Henry IV. ſat down before the city of Rouen, ſent the ſame general to oblige him to 1591
raiſe the ſiege. It was very ſurpriſing, that, while Philip could thus determine the fate of war in France, Maurice, prince of Orange, and the Hollanders, ſhould be ſufficiently powerful to croſs his deſigns, and ſend ſuccours to Henry IV. they, who, not ten years before, had been conſidered in Spain only as a parcel of obſcure rebels, who could not poſſibly eſcape the puniſhment intended for them. However, they ſent a reinforcement of three thouſand men to the king of France; but the duke of Parma nevertheleſs delivered the city of Rouen, as he had before done that of Paris.

After this Philip recalled him again; and thus by alternately giving and withdrawing his

aſſiſtance, he always made himſelf neceſſary, and ſpread his ſnares from the frontiers to the very heart of the kingdom, in order to reduce it by degrees wholly under his dominions. He had already eſtabliſhed his power through the greateſt part of Britany by force of arms. His ſon-in-law, the duke of Savoy, had done the ſame in Provence, and a part of Dauphiny. There was always a road open for the Spaniſh troops from Arras to Paris, and from Fontarabia to the river Loire. Philip himſelf was ſo thoroughly perſuaded that France could not eſcape him, that in his conferences with the preſident Jeannin, the duke of Mayenne's envoy, he always uſed to ſay, "My city of Paris, my city of Orleans, my town of Rouen."

The court of Rome, though it feared him, was nevertheleſs obliged to aſſiſt him, and he had always the arms of religion in his favour. This coſt him only the outſide ſhew of a great zeal for the catholic religion, which ſerved him likewiſe for a pretext againſt Geneva, whoſe deſtruction he was at that time endeavouring to bring about. In the year 1589 he ſent his ſon-in-law, the duke of Savoy, with an army to reduce Geneva and the neighbouring country. But this rich and powerful monarch always ſaw his deſigns fruſtrated by poor nations, whom a love for liberty exalted above themſelves. The Genevans, aſſiſted only by the two cantons of Bearn and Zurich, and three hundred ſoldiers ſent them by Henry IV. bid defiance to all his riches, and the arms of his ſon-in-law. Theſe ſame people in the year 1602, reſcued their city out of the hands of the duke of Savoy, who ſurpriſed it by ſcalade, in a time of profound

found peace, and was giving it up to plunder. They had even the boldneſs to puniſh this attempt of a powerful monarch as a public robbery; and hanged thirteen commiſſioned officers, who failing of being conquerors, were treated like midnight robbers.

Thus did Philip, without quitting his cloſet, inceſſantly carry on a war at one and the ſame time in the Netherlands, againſt Maurice, in almoſt all the provinces of France, againſt Henry IV. at Geneva and in Switzerland, and againſt the Engliſh and Dutch by ſea. But what were the fruits of theſe mighty projects, which for ſo long time kept Europe in perpetual alarms? Henry IV. deprived him of all 1596
France in a quarter of an hour, by only going to maſs. The Engliſh, whom he himſelf had taught to fight at ſea, and who were become as good ſailors as the Spaniards, plundered 1596
his poſſeſſions in America, deſtroyed his galleons, and burnt his town of Cadiz. In ſhort, after having once more laid waſte the kingdom of France, and taken the city of Amiens by ſurprize, which was retaken again by the valour of Henry IV. he found himſelf obliged to conclude a peace at Vervins, and to acknowledge as king of France, a perſon whom he had never called any other than prince of Bearn. It is likewiſe particularly worthy of obſervation, that by this treaty of peace he reſtored Calais, which had been taken by the archduke Albert, his governor in the Netherlands, during the troubles of France; and that no mention was made in the treaty of Elizabeth's pretended right; who got neither this place, nor the eight

hundred thouſand crowns which ſhe was entitled to by the treaty of Chateau Cambreſis.

Philip's power might now be compared to a mighty flood returned again within its banks, after having overflowed the countries far and near. He ſtill remained the firſt potentate in Europe. Elizabeth and Henry IV. eſpecially the latter, enjoyed a greater ſhare of perſonal glory: but Philip retained to the laſt moment of his reign, that powerful aſcendancy, which his great dominions and immenſe riches had given him. Though he had expended three thouſand millions of our livres on his deſpotic cruelty in the Netherlands, and his ambition in France, it had not impoveriſhed him: he found an inexhauſtible ſource of riches in America and the Eaſt Indies. It only happened that he enriched Europe by his treaſures, without deſigning it. The ſums he had laviſhed to carry on his intrigues in England, France, and Italy, and what his numerous armies in the Netherlands had coſt him, by encreaſing the riches of the people whom he wanted to ſubdue, had encreaſed the value of commodities almoſt every where, and Europe became wealthy from the evils premeditated againſt her.

He had a yearly revenue of near three millions of gold ducats, without being obliged to lay new taxes upon his ſubjects. This was more than all the monarchs of Chriſtendom had together; and in this reſpect he was poſſeſſed of enough to purchaſe many kingdoms, though not to conquer them. The magnanimity of Elizabeth, the valour of Henry IV. and the courage of the princes of Orange, triumphed over all his treaſures and his intrigues. But

if

if we except the burning of Cadiz, Spain was, during his reign, always peaceable and happy.

The Spaniards had at that time a diſtinguiſhed ſuperiority over all other nations: their language was ſpoken at Paris, Vienna, Milan, and Turin; their faſhions, their manner of thinking and writing, captivated the minds of the Italians; and from the time of Charles V. till the beginning of Philip III's reign, the Spaniards were held in greater conſideration than any other people.

When Philip made peace with France, he gave the Netherlands and Franche Comté as a dowry to his daughter Clara Eugenia, whom he had not been able to make queen, but as a fief revertible to the crown of Spain in default of her iſſue.

Soon after this, Philip died at the age of ſeventy-one, in his vaſt palace of the Eſcurial, which he had made a vow to build, in caſe his generals ſhould win the battle of St. Quintin; as if it was of any conſequence to God, whether the conſtable of Montmorenci or Philibert of Savoy gained the victory, or that the divine bleſſing could be purchaſed by magnificent edifices. Sept. 13, 1598

Poſterity has ranked this prince in the number of the moſt powerful kings of the earth, but not the greateſt. He was called the Demon of the South, becauſe, from the centre of Spain, which is the ſouthermoſt part of Europe, he had diſturbed all the other kingdoms on that continent.

If, after viewing him on the great theatre of the world, we come to conſider him in the light of a private man, we ſhall find him a

rigid and miſtruſtful maſter, a cruel lover and huſband, and a mercileſs father.

There was one remarkable circumſtance in his domeſtic life, which ſtill exerciſes the curioſity of the world: this was the death of his ſon Don Carlos. No one knows the manner of this prince's death; his body, which lies in the royal vault of the Eſcurial, appears to have had the head ſevered from it. But this is pretended to have been done becauſe the leaden caſe which holds the body, is too ſmall. It has been aſſerted in the life of the Czar Peter I. that when he reſolved to condemn his ſon to death, he ſent to Spain for the acts relating to Don Carlos's trial; but neither the trial nor ſentence of this prince have ever appeared. We are as little acquainted with his crime as with the nature of his death *. It is neither proved by facts or pro-

* If our author had conſulted the hiſtorians Herrera, Ferreras, Cabrera, and Diego de Colmenarez, he would have had no reaſon to ſay the crime of Don Carlos was not known. He was a prince of a very paſſionate and perverſe diſpoſition, deformed, and ungracious: he had been detected in carrying on intrigues with the malcontents in the Low Countries: he was impatient to eſpouſe the archdutcheſs Anne of Auſtria, and the negociation about this match proving tedious, he concluded that his father thought him unfit for marriage, and incapable of ſucceſſion. Stimulated by this opinion, he reſolved to fly into Germany, and borrowed conſiderable ſums from ſeveral noblemen. Then he broached the deſign to Don John of Auſtria, and ſolicited his concurrence: but Don John refuſed to be concerned, and exhorted him to lay aſide his intention; yet he ſtill perſiſting in this ſcheme, he was abandoned by his confeſſor, his letters were intercepted by the king, who likewiſe diſcovered that the poſtmaſter had received that prince's order to provide horſes for a long journey. Theſe were the reaſons

probability, that his father had him condemned by the inquiſition.

All that we know concerning it is, that in the year 1568, his father came in perſon and arreſted him in his apartment, and that he wrote to the empreſs his ſiſter, "That he had never diſcovered any capital vice nor diſhonourable action in the prince his ſon, but that he had cauſed him to be confined for his own good, and that of the kingdom." He wrote at the ſame time in quite contrary terms to pope Pius V. to whom he ſays in his letter of the twentieth of January 1568, "That the force of a vicious diſpoſition had from his tendereſt years deſtroyed in Don Carlos all the effects of his paternal inſtructions."

After theſe letters, in which Philip gives an account of the impriſonment of his ſon, we

---

reaſons which induced his father to ſecure his perſon. For this purpoſe he entered the prince's apartment at midnight, attended by ſeveral noblemen and a party of guards. Don Carlos ſeeing him come in, ſhrunk under the bed cloaths crying, "Will your majeſty kill me? I am not mad, but the treatment I have met with makes me deſperate." The king deſired he would make himſelf eaſy, declaring that every thing was intended for his good. He then ſeized all his arms and papers, committed him to the charge of ſix noblemen of the firſt rank, and immediately communicated to the pope's nuncio and all the foreign miniſters, the motives which had induced him to take this extraordinary ſtep.

St. Evremont, one of thoſe writers who ſay he was ſtrangled by his father's order, endeavours to throw a veil of ridicule over a very ſerious tranſaction. He affirms, that the executioner in going to perform his office, ſaid, *Calla, calla, Senor, todo que ſe haſe es por ſu bien.* "Don't make any noiſe ſir, this is all for your good." We have in a former volume given account of his death.

meet with no others in which he clears himſelf of his death; and this alone, joined to the rumour which prevailed throughout all Europe, affords a ſtrong preſumption that he was guilty of the murder of his ſon. His ſilence in the midſt of the public reports is another foundation for juſtifying thoſe, who aſſert that the cauſe of this ſhocking affair, was the paſſion which Don Carlos had conceived for Elizabeth of France, his mother-in-law, and that princeſs for him. Nothing could appear more probable. Elizabeth had been brought up in a gay and voluptuous court. Philip II. was perpetually engaged in intrigues with the fair ſex. Gallantry was the very eſſence of a Spaniard, and examples of infidelity abounded every where. It was natural for Don Carlos and Elizabeth, who were much of the ſame age, to have entertained a mutual paſſion for each other. The ſudden death of this princeſs, which followed ſoon after that of Don Carlos, confirmed theſe ſuſpicions. All Europe believed that Philip had ſacrificed his wife and his ſon to emotions of jealouſy; and this belief was the more ſtrengthened, as ſome time afterwards this ſame jealous diſpoſition led him to reſolve upon the death of the famous Antonio Perez, who was his rival with the princeſs of Eboli.

Theſe crimes we find publicly charged againſt him by the prince of Orange, in the famous manifeſto which he laid before the tribunal of the public. It is very ſurpriſing that Philip did not at leaſt employ ſome of the venal pens of the kingdom to reply to theſe accuſations; and that no one in Europe ever offered to refute

ſute what the prince of Orange had advanced. Theſe do not indeed amount to abſolute proofs, but they are the ſtrongeſt preſumptions againſt him; and hiſtory ought not to neglect reporting them as ſuch, as the judgment of poſterity is the only defence we have againſt ſucceſsful tyranny.

CHAP. CXXXIX.

Of the ENGLISH under EDWARD VI. MARY, and ELIZABERH.

THE Engliſh had not the ſame ſplendor of ſucceſs with the Spaniards, nor ſuch influence in other courts, nor did they poſſeſs that great power which rendered Spain ſo dangerous to its neighbours; but they acquired a new kind of glory from the ocean, and the extenſive maritime trade they carried on. They knew their true element, and that alone made them more happy than all the foreign poſſeſſions and conqueſts of their antient kings. Had theſe kings reigned in France, England would have been only a ſubjected province. Theſe people, who were formed with ſo much difficulty, and who had been ſo frequently and eaſily ſubdued by the Daniſh and Saxon pirates*, and

* The Engliſh people were never conquered by the Saxons and Danes; for they themſelves are the poſterity of thoſe very conquerors. What are the Engliſh people but the deſcen-

and the duke of Normandy, were only the rude inſtruments under Edward III. and Henry V. of the tranſient glory of thoſe monarchs: but under Elizabeth they became a powerful, civilized, induſtrious, laborious, and enterpriſing nation. The improvements made by the Spaniards in navigation excited their emulation, and they undertook three ſucceſſive voyages to diſcover a north-weſt paſſage to Japan and China. Drake and Cavendiſh ſailed round the globe, attacking in all places thoſe very Spaniards, who had extended their conqueſts and trade to both ends of the world. Several private companies of adventurers, who depended entirely on their own ſtock, carried on a very profitable trade upon the coaſt of Guinea *. The famous Sir Walter Raleigh †, without receiving the leaſt aſſiſtance from the government, founded and improved the colony of New England, in the ſouthern part of America, in the year 1585. By theſe expeditions they ſoon formed the beſt marine in Europe, as ſufficiently appears from their fitting out an hundred ſail of ſhips to oppoſe the invincible armada ſent againſt them by Philip II. going afterwards to inſult him upon his own coaſts, deſtroying his ſhips, and burning his city of Cadiz: at length, grown more formidable, they in 1602 defeated the firſt fleet

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cendants of Saxons, Danes, and Normans? We might with the ſame reaſon ſay that the French were eaſily conquered by the Franks under Clovis, who were in fact the anceſtors of the French people.

* There was no Engliſh company that traded to the coaſt of Guinea in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

† Sir Walter Raleigh eſtabliſhed the colony of Virginia, which is at a conſiderable diſtance from New England.

which

which Philip III. ſent to ſea, and from that time acquired a ſuperiority by ſea, which they have ſince maintained, except on ſome few occaſions.

From the firſt beginning of Elizabeth's reign they applied themſelves to manufactures. The Flemiſh being perſecuted by Philip II. removed to London, carrying with them an increaſe of inhabitants, induſtry, and riches. This capital, which enjoyed the bleſſings of peace under Elizabeth, cultivated likewiſe the liberal arts, which are the badges and conſequences of plenty. The names of Spencer and Shakeſpear, who flouriſhed in thoſe days, are handed down to other nations. In a word, London was enlarged, civilized, and embelliſhed, and in a ſhort time the one half of the little iſland of Great Britain was able to counterbalance the whole power of Spain. The Engliſh were the ſecond nation in the world in induſtry; and in liberty they were the firſt. During this reign there were public companies eſtabliſhed for trading to the Levant and the North. Agriculture now firſt began to be conſidered in England as the chief riches of the ſtate, while in Spain they began to neglect this real good for ideal treaſures. The gold and ſilver trade of the new world enriched the king of Spain; but in England the ſubject was benefited by the ſale of the natural commodities. A private merchant of London, called Sir Thomas Greſham, was at that time rich enough to build the Royal Exchange at his own expence, and a college which bears his name. Several other citizens founded hoſpitals and public ſchools. Such were the glorious effects produced by liberty

berty in that kingdon, that private perſons could do what kings at preſent can only do in the moſt happy adminiſtration.

The royal revenues in Elizabeth's reign ſeldom exceeded ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, and the number of inhabitants in the kingdom were not more than four millions. The ſingle kingdom of Spain contained at leaſt as many more. And yet Elizabeth defended herſelf with ſucceſs, and had at once the glory of aſſiſting Henry IV. to ſubdue his kingdom, and the Dutch to eſtabliſh their republic.

But to acquire a clearer knowledge of the life and reign of Elizabeth, it will be neceſſary to take a ſhort retroſpect of the reigns of Edward VI. and queen Mary.

Elizabeth was born in 1533, and while yet in her cradle was declared the lawful heireſs to the crown of England; a ſhort time afterwards, upon her mother's being removed from the throne to the ſcaffold, ſhe was declared a baſtard. Her father, who ended his life in 1547, died like a tyrant, as he had lived. While on his death-bed, he gave orders for executions, and always under the ſanction of juſtice. He condemned the duke of Norfolk and his ſon to loſe their heads, on no other pretence but that they had the arms of England marked on their plate. The father indeed obtained his pardon *, but the ſon was executed. It muſt be owned, that as the Engliſh are ſaid to ſet little value upon

* The death-warrant was actually ſigned, and ſent to the lieutenant of the Tower, and the duke would have been beheaded next morning, had not the king himſelf died in the interim.

their

their lives, their governors have treated them according to their taſte. Even the reign of the young king Edward VI. ſon of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour, was not exempt from theſe bloody tragedies. Thomas Seymour, high admiral of England, and the king's own uncle, was beheaded for having quarrelled with his brother Edward Seymour, duke of Somerſet, who was protector of the kingdom during the king's minority; and ſoon afterwards this duke of Somerſet himſelf ſuffered the ſame fate. The reign of Edward VI. which laſted only five years, and during which the nation was, or appeared to be of the proteſtant religion, was a ſcene of ſeditions and troubles. When he died he left his crown to neither of his ſiſters Mary or Elizabeth, but to lady Jane Grey, a deſcendant of Henry VII. and grand-daughter to the widow of Lewis XII. and one Brandon, a private gentleman, who had been created duke of Suffolk. This Jane Grey was wife to lord Guilford, who was ſon to the duke of Northumberland, a nobleman of great power in Edward's time. Edward's will, by which he bequeathed the throne to lady Jane Grey, only proved the means of bringing her to a ſcaffold. 1553 She was proclaimed queen in London; but Mary's intereſt and her lawful rights, as being daughter of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Arragon, prevailed; and the firſt thing which this queen did after ſigning her contract of marriage with Philip II. was to condemn her rival to death, who was a young lady of ſeventeen, full of beauty and innocence, and who had been guilty of no crime but that of being named in Edward's will for his ſucceſſor. It availed her not

not that ſhe made a voluntary reſignation of her fatal dignity, which ſhe held but nine days: ſhe was led to execution with her huſband, father, and father-in-law. This was the third queen of England who had mounted the ſcaffold within leſs than twenty years. The proteſtant religion, in which ſhe had been educated, was the principal cauſe of her untimely fate. In this revolution the arm of the executioner was much more employed than that of the ſoldiery; and all theſe cruelties were committed by act of parliament. Every nation has had its times of horror and bloodſhed; but more illuſtrious lives have been loſt upon the ſcaffold in England than in all the reſt of Europe beſides. It has been the character of this nation to commit murders by form of law; and the gates of London have been loaded with human ſkulls, like the walls of the temple of Mexico.

CHAP. CXL.

Of Queen ELIZABETH.

ELIZABETH was confined in priſon by her ſiſter upon her acceſſion to the throne. This princeſs, who, after ſhe came to be queen, refuſed the hand of Philip II. now wanted to eſpouſe Courtney earl of Devonſhire; and it appears by letters of hers yet remaining, that ſhe had a ſtrong inclination for this nobleman. A match of this kind would not have been at all extraordinary; we have ſeen that lady Jane Grey,

Grey, though declared heireſs to the crown, had married lord Guilford. Mary, queen dowager of France, deſcended from the bed of Lewis XII. to that of Charles Brandon. All the royal family of England ſprung from a private gentleman, named Tudor, who had married the widow of Henry V. daughter to Charles VI. king of France; and in France, before its kings had attained their height of power, the widow of Lewis the Fat made no difficulty of eſpouſing Matthew de Montmorenci.

Elizabeth, while a priſoner, and under a ſtate of continual perſecution from her ſiſter Mary, employed theſe moments of her diſgrace to the nobleſt purpoſes; ſhe improved her mind, ſhe learned the languages and ſciences; but of all the arts in which ſhe excelled, the chief was that of diſſimulation, by which ſhe kept fair with her ſiſter, with the catholics, and with the proteſtants, and learned how to reign.

No ſooner was ſhe proclaimed queen, than ſhe found herſelf ſtrongly ſollicited 1559
in marriage by her brother-in-law, Philip II. Had ſhe liſtened to his propoſals, France and Holland would have been in danger of being overwhelmed; but ſhe deteſted both the religion and perſon of Philip, and reſolved to indulge the vanity of being beloved, and the happineſs of being independent. Having been impriſoned by a catholic ſiſter, her firſt thoughts, upon mounting the throne, were to reſtore the proteſtant religion in her kingdom. However, ſhe permitted a catholic biſhop to perform the ceremony of her coronation, that ſhe might not ſour the minds of the people at firſt. I ſhall here obſerve, that ſhe went from Weſtminſter to

to the Tower of London in an open chariot, followed by an hundred others. Not that coaches were at that time in uſe; it was only an occaſional piece of ſtate *.

Immediately after her coronation ſhe convoked a parliament, which ſettled the religion of England ſuch as it now is, and veſted the ſupremacy, firſt fruits, and tenths, in the ſovereign.

Elizabeth then had the title of ſupreme head of the church of England. Several writers, eſpecially the Italians, have thought this a ridiculous dignity in a woman; but they might have conſidered that this woman reigned; that ſhe was in poſſeſſion of the rights annexed to the crown by the laws of the country; that in former times the ſovereigns of all the known nations in the world had the ſuperintendance in religious matters; that the Roman emperors were ſovereign pontiffs; that although at preſent there are ſeveral countries where the ſtate is governed by the church, there are others where the church is governed by the ſtate; and laſtly, that it is not more ridiculous for a queen of England to have the nomination of an archbiſhop of Canterbury, the primate of the whole kingdom, and to preſcribe laws to him, than for an abbeſs of Fontevrault to nominate priors and curates, and give them her benediction; in a word, that every country has its cuſtoms.

The church of England retained whatever was moſt ſolemn and auguſt in the Romiſh ceremonies, and moſt auſtere in the Lutheran diſ-

* Coaches were firſt introduced into England by Henry Fitzallen, earl of Arundel, in the reign of Elizabeth.

cipline.

cipline. I ſhall obſerve, that out of nine thouſand four hundred beneficed clergy, which were at that time in England, there were but fourteen biſhops, fifty canons, and eighty curates, who loſt their livings for remaining catholics, and refuſing to ſubſcribe to the reformation. When we reflect that the Engliſh nation had changed its religion four ſeveral times ſince the reign of Henry VIII. we are ſurpriſed that a people, who enjoy ſo great liberty, ſhould ever have been ſubdued, or that, poſſeſſed of ſo much reſolution, they ſhould ever have been ſo fickle. The Engliſh in this reſemble thoſe Swiſs cantons, who waited for their magiſtrates to determine what ſhould be their creed *. An act of parliament is every thing with the Engliſh; they love the laws, and there is no governing them, but by laws made by a parliament which pronounces, or ſeems to pronounce, by its own authority.

No one was perſecuted for being a Roman catholic; but thoſe who went about to diſturb the peace of the kingdom through a principle of conſcience, were ſeverely puniſhed. The Guiſes, who at that time made a handle of religion to eſtabliſh their own power in France, made uſe of the ſame methods to ſet their niece, Mary Stewart queen of Scotland, on the Engliſh throne. Maſters of the finances and armies of France, they ſent money and troops over to Scotland, under pretence of aſſiſting the catholics of that kingdom againſt the proteſtants. Mary Stewart, who was married to Francis II. king of France, openly took upon

* See Chap. cvii. Vol. iii.

her

her the title of queen of England, as being deſcended from Henry VIII. All the Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh catholics, were in her intereſt. Elizabeth was not yet ſo firmly ſettled on the throne, but that religious cabals might have ſhaken her authority. However, ſhe diſ-
1560 perſed this firſt ſtorm, ſent an army to the relief of the Scotch proteſtants, and obliged the queen regent of Scotland, Mary's mother, to conſent by treaty to obey laws of her dictating, and to ſend the French troops home within twenty days.

Francis II. dying, ſhe obliged Mary Stewart to quit the title of queen of England. By her intrigues ſhe prevailed upon the parliament of Edinburgh to eſtabliſh the reformed religion in Scotland; and by this artful management ſhe brought into her intereſt a country from which ſhe had every thing to fear.

Scarcely was ſhe freed from theſe inquietudes, when ſhe received freſh alarms of a more dangerous kind from Philip II. This monarch was indiſpenſibly her friend, ſo long as Mary Stewart, as heireſs to Elizabeth, had a proſpect of uniting in her own perſon the crowns of France, England, and Scotland; but Francis II. being now dead, and his widow returned helpleſs into Scotland, Philip had only the proteſtants to fear, and therefore became an implacable enemy to Elizabeth.

He now privately raiſes commotions in Ireland, which Elizabeth as quickly ſuppreſſes. He protects the catholic league in France, which proved ſo fatal to the royal family, and ſhe aſſiſts the oppoſite party. The republic of Holland finds itſelf hard preſſed by Philip's

forces, and Elizabeth ſaves it from ruin. Formerly the kings of England were wont to drain their country of men to ſettle themſelves on the throne of France; but intereſts and times were now ſo changed, that the queen of England ſent repeated ſuccours to Henry IV. to aſſiſt him in conquering his patrimony. With theſe ſuccours Henry at length laid ſiege to Paris; and had it not been for the duke of Parma, or the king's extreme indulgence to the beſieged, he would have fixed the proteſtant religion in the kingdom. This is what Elizabeth had greatly at heart. It was natural for her to wiſh to ſee her endeavours ſucceed, and not to loſe all the fruits of the great expence ſhe had been at. Beſides, ſhe had conceived a mortal averſion to the catholic religion ever ſince ſhe had been excommunicated by the two popes, Pius V. and Sixtus V. who had declared her unworthy and incapable to govern; and the more Philip II. declared himſelf the protector of this religion, the more ſhe became its implacable enemy.

No proteſtant divine could be more afflicted than Elizabeth, when ſhe heard that Henry IV. had renounced the reformed doctrines. Her letter to that prince is very remarkable: "You offer me your friendſhip, as to your ſiſter. I am certain I have deſerved it, having paid dearly for it; but of this I ſhould not repent me, had you not changed your father. I can no longer be your ſiſter by the father's ſide, for I ſhall always have a greater affection for my own father, than for him who has adopted you." This letter ſerves at once to ſhew her heart, her underſtanding, and her forcible manner of expreſſing herſelf in a foreign language.

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Notwithſtanding this hatred to the Roman catholic religion, it is certain that ſhe did not deal cruelly by the catholics of her kingdom, as Mary had done during her reign by the proteſtants. It is true, that the two
1581 Jeſuits, Creighton and Campian, with ſome others, were hanged, at the ſame time that the duke of Anjou, brother to Henry III. was preparing every thing in London for his marriage with the queen, which at length proved abortive; but theſe Jeſuits were unanimouſly convicted of conſpiracy and ſedition, of which they were accuſed; and ſentence was given againſt them upon the teſtimony of witneſſes. They might have fallen innocent victims, but then the queen was likewiſe innocent of their death, as ſhe acted only by the laws.

Several perſons in France ſtill imagine that Elizabeth put the earl of Eſſex to death merely from a fit of jealouſy; and found their belief on a tragedy and a novel. But thoſe who have read any thing know, that the queen was at that time ſeventy-eight years of age, and that the earl of Eſſex, finding the queen grown old, and hoping that her authority would decline with her years, had been guilty of an act of open rebellion, for which he was afterwards tried by his peers, who paſſed ſentence of death upon him and his accomplices.

The more exact adminiſtration of juſtice during Elizabeth's reign, than under that of any of her predeceſſors, proved one of the firmeſt ſupports of her government. The revenues of the ſtate were employed only in its defence.

She had favourites, but ſhe enriched none of them at the expence of the nation. Her people were

were her chief favourites; not that ſhe really loved them, for who can love the people? But ſhe was ſenſible that her glory and ſafety depended upon behaving towards them as if ſhe did love them.

Elizabeth would have enjoyed an unblemiſhed fame, had ſhe not ſullied a reign, in other reſpects ſo glorious, by the murder of her ſiſter Mary Stewart, a murder which ſhe ventured to perpetrate with the ſacred ſword of juſtice.

CHAP. CXLI.

Of Mary Stewart, Queen of Scots.

IT it a difficult matter to come at the whole truth in diſputes between private people, and how much more ſo in thoſe of crowned heads, where ſo many ſecret ſprings are employed, and where both parties equally make uſe of truth and falſhood, as beſt ſuits their purpoſe. Cotemporary writers are in theſe caſes generally ſuſpected of partiality, and are for the moſt part rather advocates on one ſide, than the faithful depoſitories of hiſtory. I muſt then confine myſelf to authenticated facts only, amidſt the perplexed accounts given of this important and fatal event.

Mary and Elizabeth were rivals in all reſpects: they were rivals in nations, in crowns, in religion, in underſtanding, and in beauty. Mary was far leſs powerful, and not ſo much

treſs of herſelf as Elizabeth, nor had ſhe her unſhaken reſolution and depth of politics; in a word, ſhe was ſuperior to her only in the charms of her perſon, which contributed not a little to her ſubſequent misfortunes. The queen of Scots encouraged the catholic faction in England, and the queen of England ſtill more powerfully ſupported the proteſtant party in Scotland. Elizabeth gained ſo much the aſcendancy by her intrigues, that for a long time ſhe prevented Mary from concluding a ſecond nuptials where ſhe had an inclination.

However Mary, in deſpite of the cabals of her rival, and of the Scottiſh parliament, which was wholly made up of proteſtants, and headed by her natural brother the earl of Murray, mar-
ries Henry Stewart earl of Darnly,
1565 who was her couſin, and a catholic like herſelf. Elizabeth upon this tampers in private with Mary's principal proteſtant ſubjects, and excites them to take up arms. The queen of Scots purſues the rebels in perſon, and obliges them to retreat into England. Thus far every thing ſeemed to favour her and confound her rival.

Mary had a ſoft and tender heart; this was the beginning of all her misfortunes. An Italian muſician, named David Rizzo, or Riclo, had inſinuated himſelf too far into her good graces. He played well upon ſeveral inſtruments, and had a very agreeable baſs voice. A proof that the Italians were at that time in poſſeſſion of the empire of muſic, and exerciſed their profeſſion with a kind of excluſive right in all courts, is, that Mary's whole band was Italian. Another proof that foreign courts make

make an indiſcriminate uſe of any one who is in credit, is, that this Rizzo was a penſioner to the pope. He was greatly inſtrumental in the queen's marriage with lord Darnly, and not leſs ſo in that diſlike ſhe afterwards took to him. Darnly, who had only the name of king, and ſaw himſelf deſpiſed by his wife, grew incenſed and jealous; and one evening that he knew the queen was in her apartment, he took with him a few armed men, and going up a pair of private ſtairs, enters her chamber, where ſhe was at ſupper with Rizzo and one of the ladies of her court. They overturned the table, and ſlew Rizzo before the queen's eyes, who in vain attempted to cover his body with her own. Mary was at that time five months gone with child: the ſight of the naked and bloody weapons made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on her, that it was communicated to the infant in her womb. This was James VI. afterwards king of England and Scotland, who was born four months after this melancholy affair, and who all his life-time trembled at the ſight of a drawn ſword, in deſpite of his utmoſt endeavours to overcome this diſpoſition of his organs. So great is the force of nature, and ſo powerfully does ſhe act by ways impenetrable to us!

The queen ſoon reſumed her authority, was reconciled to the earl of Murray, proſecuted the murderers of Rizzo, and entered into a freſh engagement with the earl of Bothwell. Theſe new amours produced the death of the king her huſband. It is ſaid an attempt was made to poiſon him, but that the ſtrength of his conſtitution got the better of the drugs they had given him: however, it is certain that he was mur- 1567

dered in Edinburgh, in a lone houſe, from whence the queen had previouſly removed moſt of her valuable effects. As ſoon as the murder was committed, the houſe was blown up with gun-powder, and the body was depoſited near that of David Rizzo, in the vault belonging to the royal family. The parliament and the whole nation openly charged Bothwell with this murder; and, in the midſt of the general cry for juſtice, Mary contrived to have herſelf carried off by this aſſaſſin*, whoſe hands were yet ſtained with her huſband's blood, and was afterwards publicly married to him. What was moſt extraordinary in this horrid adventure was, that Bothwell had at that time a wife; and, in order to bring about a ſeparation, he obliged her to accuſe him of adultery, and made the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's pronounce ſentence of divorce between them, agreeable to the cuſtom of the country.

Bothwell was poſſeſſed of all that inſolence which attends great wickedneſs. He aſſembled the principal noblemen of the kingdom, and made them ſign a writing, by which it was declared, in expreſs terms, that the queen could not diſpenſe with marrying him, as he had carried her away, and had lain with her. All theſe facts are authenticated: the letters which Mary is ſaid to have wrote to Bothwell have indeed been diſputed, but they carry ſuch ſtrong marks of truth, that there is hardly any doubt-

* We wiſh our author had been at more pains in enquiring into the particulars of this affair, before he had adopted opinions ſo unfavourable to the memory of this unfortunate princeſs.

ing their reality. Theſe complicated villainies effectually rouſed the Scots; Mary was abandoned by her army, and obliged to yield herſelf priſoner to the confederates. Bothwell fled into the Orkneys; the quen was compelled to reſign the crown to her ſon, but was allowed to appoint a regent during his minority. She named her brother the earl of Murray: this nobleman however reproached her in the bittereſt manner with her paſt conduct. At length ſhe eſcaped from her confinement; 1568
Murray's harſh and ſevere temper had procured her a new party. She found means to raiſe ſix thouſand men, but ſhe was ſoon defeated and obliged to take ſhelter on the Engliſh borders. Elizabeth at firſt gave her an honourable reception at Carliſle, but privately intimated to her, that as ſhe was accuſed by the public voice of the murder of the king her huſband, it behoved her to vindicate herſelf, and that ſhe might depend upon her protection, if ſhe ſhould be found innocent.

Elizabeth now made herſelf arbiter between Mary and the Scottiſh regency. The regent came himſelf in perſon to Hampton-court, and conſented to depoſite the papers containing the proofs againſt his ſiſter, in 1569
the hands of commiſſioners to be appointed by the queen of England. The unfortunate Mary on the other hand, who was ſtill detained priſoner in Carliſle, accuſed the earl of Murray himſelf as author of that murder which he had laid to her charge; and excepted againſt the Engliſh commiſſioners, unleſs the ambaſſadors of France and Spain were joined with them. Nevertheleſs, Elizabeth ſtill cauſed this unac-

countable trial to be carried on, and indulged herſelf in the cruel pleaſure of ſeeing her rival pine away in confinement, without coming to any determination concerning her fate. She was not Mary's judge, ſhe owed her an aſylum, but ſhe cauſed her to be removed to Tewkſbury, where ſhe was little better than a priſoner.

Theſe diſaſters of the royal houſe of Scotland were reflected back upon the nation, which was rent by factions that aroſe from anarchy. The earl of Murray was murdered by one of theſe factions, which ſheltered itſelf under the authority of Mary's name. After this murder, the inſurgents entered England, and laid waſte the borders with fire and ſword.

1570 Elizabeth preſently ſent an army to chaſtiſe theſe diſturbers of the peace, and keep Scotland in awe. She likewiſe procured the regency of that kingdom to be given to the earl of Lenox, brother to the murdered king *. Thus far ſhe acted according to the rules of juſtice and true greatneſs. At the ſame time a conſpiracy was formed in England for delivering Mary from her confinement, and pope Pius V. very indiſcreetly cauſed a bull to be publiſhed in London, by which he excommunicated Elizabeth, and releaſed her ſubjects from their oath of allegiance. This ſtep, which was intended to deliver Mary, only haſtened her downfal. The two queens entered into mutual negociations; the one from her throne, and the other from a priſon. Mary does not ſeem to have

* He was duke of Lennox, and father to the murdered king.

be-

behaved with that flexibility which the ſituation of her affairs required. Scotland at this time was weltering in blood; the catholics and proteſtants had raiſed a civil war in the kingdom. The French ambaſſador and the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's were made priſoners, the latter of whom was hanged upon the evidence of his own confeſſor, who ſwore that this prelate had accuſed himſelf to him of being an accomplice in the murder of the late king. 1571

It was Mary's greateſt misfortune to have a number of friends in her diſgrace. The duke of Norfolk, who was a catholic †, wanted to marry her in hopes of a revolution, and reckoning on Mary's right of ſucceſſion to Elizabeth. Several parties were formed in her favour in London, which were weak indeed, but were capable of being ſtrengthened by forces from Spain, and the intrigues of the court of Rome. Theſe machinations however coſt the duke of Norfolk his head, who was ſentenced to die by his peers for having ſollicited ſuccours from the pope and the king of Spain, in Mary's behalf. The duke of Norfolk's death rivetted this unhappy princeſs's chains; her long misfortunes had not yet diſcouraged thoſe of her party in London, who were ſtrongly ſupported by the princes of Guiſe, the pope, the Jeſuits, and the court of Spain. 1572

The great point in view was to ſet Mary at liberty, and place her on the Engliſh throne, and with her reſtore the catholic religion. A conſpiracy was formed againſt Elizabeth. Philip had

† The duke of Norfolk was a profeſſed and zealous proteſtant.

1556 already begun to prepare for his invaſion. The queen of England cauſed fourteen of the conſpirators to be put to death, and brought Mary, who was her equal, to a public trial, as if ſhe had been her ſubject. Forty-two members of parliament and five of the judges were ſent to examine her in Fotheringay caſtle; ſhe proteſted againſt their proceedings, and refuſed to make any reply. Never was trial ſo irregularly carried on, nor ſo inſufficient a ſentence; ſhe was preſented only with copies of her letters, and no originals. They made uſe of the depoſition of her ſecretaries, without confronting them with her; they pretended to convict her upon the evidence of three conſpirators, who had been executed, though their ſentence ought to have been deferred till they had been examined in Mary's preſence. In a word, though they had even proceeded with all the forms which juſtice requires for the loweſt of the people, had they proved that Mary ſollicited for aid and revenge wherever ſhe had a proſpect of ſucceeding, they could not with equity have pronounced her criminal. Elizabeth had no other juriſdiction over her than that of the ſtrong over the weak and unfortunate.

At length, after eighteen years impriſonment, in a country which ſhe had imprudently choſen for an aſylum, Mary was beheaded in an apartment of the priſon hung with black. Elizabeth was ſenſible that ſhe had committed a bad act, but ſhe added to the odium of it by attempting to impoſe upon the public, (who were not however to be ſo deceived) with an affectation of

Feb. 28, 1587.

ſorrow

ſorrow for a perſon whom ſhe had put to death, by pretending that her miniſters had exceeded her orders, and by impriſoning the ſecretary of ſtate, who, ſhe ſaid, had been too precipitate in executing a warrant ſigned by herſelf. Europe deteſted her cruelty and diſſimulation. Her reign was eſteemed, but her character was held in abhorrence. But what renders her ſtill more condemnable is, her not having been forced to this barbarity. It may even be ſaid, that in Mary's perſon ſhe had a ſecurity againſt the attempts of her adherents.

Though this action be an indelible ſtain upon the memory of Elizabeth, it is a fanatical weakneſs to canonize Mary Stewart as a martyr of religion, who was only a martyr of adultery, of the murder of her huſband, and of her own imprudence. In her failings and misfortunes ſhe perfectly reſembled Joan of Naples; they were both handſome and ſprightly, both thro' the frailty of their ſex drawn to commit an atrocious deed, and both put to death by their relations. Hiſtory frequently preſents us with a repetition of the ſame misfortunes, the ſame flagitious deeds, and one crime puniſhed by another.

CHAP. CXLII.

Of FRANCE, towards the End of the ſixteenth Century, under FRANCIS II.

WHILE all Europe was alarmed at the exceſſive power of Spain, and England made the ſecond figure by oppoſing that monarchy, France was grown weak, divided into factions, and in danger of being diſmembered, ſo that it was far from having any influence or credit in Europe. The civil wars of this kingdom had reduced it to a ſtate of dependence on all its neighbours. Thoſe times of fury, abjectneſs, and miſery, have furniſhed more matter for hiſtory than is contained in all the Roman annals. And what were the cauſes of all thoſe misfortunes? religion, ambition, the want of good laws, and a mal-adminiſtration.

Henry II. by his ſeverity againſt the ſectaries, and eſpecially by the condemnation of the counſellor of parliament, Anne du Bourg, who was executed after the king's death by order of the Guiſes, made more Calviniſts in France than there were in all Switzerland and Geneva. Had theſe people made their appearance in a time like that of Lewis XII. when the court of France was at war with the papal ſee, they might poſſibly have met with ſome indulgence; but they appeared preciſely at the time when Henry II. ſtood in need of pope Paul IV. to aſſiſt him in diſputing the poſſeſſion of Naples and Sicily with Spain, and while theſe two powers were in alliance with the Turk againſt the

the houſe of Auſtria. It was therefore thought neceſſary to ſacrifice them. The clergy, who were powerful at court, and were in fear of loſing their temporalities and authority, perſecuted them; and policy, intereſt, and zeal, concurred in their ruin. The ſtate might have tolerated them, as Elizabeth tolerated the catholics in England, and have preſerved a number of good ſubjects, by allowing them liberty of conſcience. It would have been of little concern to the government in what manner they performed their devotion, provided they ſubmitted themſelves to the eſtabliſhed laws: whereas, by perſecuting them, they made them rebels.

The untimely fate of Henry II. was the ſignal of thirty years civil wars. An infant king governed by foreigners, and the jealouſy of the princes of the blood and high officers of the crown againſt the family of Guiſe, on account of their great credit in the kingdom, began the ſubverſion of France.

The famous conſpiracy of Amboiſe was the firſt of the kind we hear of in this country. To form leagues, and then to break them, to paſs haſtily from one extreme to another, to be violent in their paſſions and ſudden in their repentance, ſeemed hitherto to have formed the character of the Gauls, who, when they took the name of Franks, and afterwards of French, did not change their manners. But in this conſpiracy there was a degree of boldneſs which equalled it to that of Cataline, with an artful management, a depth of contrivance, and a profound ſecrecy like that of the Sicilian Ver-

pers †, or the Pazzi * of Florence. Lewis prince of Condé was the ſoul that ſecretly animated this plot, but in ſo artful a manner, that tho' all France was convinced that he was at the head of it, no one could poſitively convict him of being ſo.

It was peculiar to this conſpiracy, that it was in one ſenſe excuſeable, as being undertaken to wreſt the government out of the hands of Francis duke of Guiſe and his brother the cardinal of Lorraine, who were both of them foreigners, and held the king in ſubjection, the nation in ſlavery, and the princes of the blood and officers of the crown at a diſtance: and in another highly criminal, as it attacked the rights of a king who was at age, and empowered by the laws to chuſe the depoſitories of his authority.

It has never been proved that there was any deſign of killing the Guiſes; but as they would doubtleſs have made a reſiſtance, their deaths were inevitable. Five hundred gentlemen, all well ſeconded, and a thouſand reſolute ſoldiers, headed by thirty choſen captains, were all to aſſemble from the ſeveral provinces of the kingdom on an appointed day at Amboiſe, where the court then kept its reſidence. Kings were not in thoſe times ſurrounded by ſo numerous a guard as they are at preſent. The regiment of guards was not formed till the reign of

† See Chap. xlvii. Vol. ii.

* This happened in 1478. Francis Pazzi, one of the chief conſpirators againſt the family of Medicis, killed Julian de Medicis, and was afterwards hanged by the people of Florence, together with the reſt of his accomplices. See Machiavel's hiſt. Florent. lib. viii.

Charles

Charles IX. Two hundred archers were the moſt that attended Francis II. the other kings of Europe had no more. When the conſtable of Montmorenci afterwards came to Orleans, where the Guiſes had placed a new guard about the court upon the death of Francis II. he diſmiſſed the new raiſed ſoldiers, and threatened to have them all hanged as enemies to the ſtate, who planted a barrier between the king and his people.

The ſimplicity of the ancient times ſtill continued in the palaces of our kings, but they were by this means more expoſed to reſolute attempts. It was an eaſy matter to ſeize the royal family, the miniſters, and even the king himſelf: there was almoſt a certainty of ſucceſs. The ſecret was kept inviolable by all the conſpirators for near ſix months; at length it was diſcovered by the indiſcretion of one of the chiefs named Renaudie, who divulged it in confidence to a lawyer of Paris, who diſcovered the whole plot, which nevertheleſs was carried into execution. The conſpirators met at the place appointed as if nothing had happened; religious enthuſiaſm furniſhed them with a deſperate obſtinacy. Theſe gentlemen were for the moſt part Calviniſts, who made a duty of revenging their perſecuted brethren. Lewis prince of Condé had openly embraced the new doctrine, becauſe the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal of Lorraine were catholics. This attempt was ſet on foot to bring about a revolution in church and ſtate.

The Guiſes had hardly time to get together a body of troops. There were not fifteen thouſand men enrolled in all the king- 1560

kingdom: but they ſoon muſtered a ſufficient number to exterminate the conſpirators, who, as they arrived in detached parties, were eaſily defeated. La Renaudie was killed fighting, and many others died like him, with their arms in their hands. Thoſe who were taken died by the hands of executioners, and, for a whole month, nothing was to be ſeen in Paris but bloody ſcaffolds, and gibbets loaded with dead bodies.

The conſpiracy thus diſcovered, and the authors of it puniſhed, only ſerved to encreaſe that power it was meant to overthrow. Francis de Guiſe was inveſted with the authority of the ancient mayors of the palace, under the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. But this very authority, and the reſtleſs ambition of his brother the cardinal, who endeavoured to introduce the inquiſition into France, ſtirred up all ranks in the kingdom againſt them, and proved the ſources of freſh troubles.

The Calviniſts, who were ſtill privately encouraged by the prince of Condé, took up arms in ſeveral provinces. The power of the Guiſes muſt certainly have been very formidable, ſeeing that neither Condé nor his brother, Anthony king of Navarre, father to Henry IV. nor the famous admiral Coligni, nor his brother d'Andelot, colonel-general of the infantry, dared to declare themſelves openly. The prince of Condé was the firſt head of a party that ever ſeemed to wage civil war with fear and apprehenſion; he ſeemed ready to ſtrike a blow, and would afterwards draw back again; and, imagining that he could always keep fair with a court that he meant to deſtroy,

he was so imprudent as to go to Fontainebleau in the character of a courtier, when he ought to have been in that of a general at the head of his party. The Guiſes cauſed him to be arreſted at Orleans, and arraigned before the privy council and commiſſioners choſen out of the parliament, notwithſtanding his privilege as a prince of the blood exempted him from being tried by any but the court of peers, and the parliament aſſembled. But what avails privilege againſt ſuperior ſtrength? or what indeed was a privilege of which there had been no precedent but in the violation of it, in the caſe of the criminal proceſs formerly iſſued againſt the duke d'Alençon?

The prince of Condé then was condemned to be beheaded. The famous 1560
chancellor de l'Hôpital, a noble legiſlator, at a time when good laws were moſt wanted, and an intrepid philoſopher, in an age of enthuſiaſm and fury, refuſed to ſign the ſentence. This example of undaunted courage was followed by the count de Sancerre, one of the privy council. Nevertheleſs the decree was going to be publiſhed, and the prince of Condé was on the point of falling by the hand of the executioner, when on a ſudden the young king Francis II. who had been ill for a long time, and was infirm from his cradle, died at the age of ſeventeen, leaving his brother Charles, who was then only ten, an exhauſted kingdom, rent in pieces by factions.

The death of Francis proved the deliverance of Condé; he was preſently releaſed from his confinement, after a feigned reconciliation had been effected between him and the Guiſes, which

which was no more than the ſeal of revenge and hatred, as indeed what elſe could it be. The eſtates were now aſſembled at Orleans, without whom nothing could be done in ſuch a ſituation of affairs. Theſe eſtates conferred the guardianſhip of the young king Charles IX. and the government of the kingdom on Catherine of Medicis, but not under the name of regent; they did not even give her the title of majeſty, which had but very lately been aſſumed by kings. There are ſeveral letters from the ſieur de Bourdeilles to Henry III. in which he only ſtiles that prince "Your highneſs."

CHAP. CXLIII.

Of FRANCE, during the Minority of CHARLES IX. and the Reign of HENRY III.

DURING every royal minority, the ancient conſtitution of a kingdom always recovers ſome part of its vigour, at leaſt for a time, like a family aſſembled together upon the death of the father. A general aſſembly of the ſtates was held at Orleans, and afterwards at Pontoiſe: theſe eſtates deſerve to have their memories preſerved, for the perpetual ſeparation they made between the ſword and the long robe. This diſtinction was unknown in the Roman empire, even to the time of Conſtantine; their magiſtrates underſtood how to conduct armies, and their generals could decide cauſes.

cauſes. The ſword and the law were, in like manner, lodged in the ſame hands in almoſt all the nations of Europe, till towards the beginning of the fourteenth century. By little and little theſe two profeſſions were ſeparated in Spain and France; though not abſolutely ſo in the latter, notwithſtanding the parliaments were compoſed only of the gentlemen of the long robe. The juriſdiction of the bailiffs, who were ſwordſmen, ſtill continued the ſame as it was in ſeveral of the provinces of Germany, and on the frontiers of that empire. The eſtates of Orleans, convinced that the ſwordſmen could not confine themſelves to the ſtudy of the law, took from them the adminiſtration of juſtice, and conferred it on the gownſmen, who were before only their lieutenants, or deputies. Thus they, who from their original inſtitution had always been judges, ceaſed to be ſo any longer.

The famous chancellor de l'Hôpital had the principal ſhare in bringing about this change, which was effected at the time of the nation's greateſt weakneſs, and has ſince contributed to ſtrengthen the hands of the ſovereigns, by dividing for ever two profeſſions which might, if united, have formed a powerful counterpoiſe to the authority of the miniſtry. Some have thought ſince, that the nobles could not preſerve the charge of the laws entruſted to them; but ſuch ſhould reflect that the Engliſh houſe of lords, which is compoſed of the only nobles properly ſo called in that kingdom, is a fixed body of magiſtracy, who make the laws and adminiſter juſtice. When we ſee theſe great changes in the conſtitution of a ſtate, and obſerve other neighbouring governments who have

have not undergone theſe changes in the ſame circumſtances, we may evidently conclude that the manners and genius of theſe people muſt have been different from thoſe of the former.

At this aſſembly of the general eſtates, it appeared how very faulty the adminiſtration had been. The king was indebted upwards of forty millions of livres; money was wanted, and there was none to be had; this was the true cauſe of the troubles of France. Had Catherine of Medicis had wherewithal to have purchaſed good ſervants, and to have paid an army, the different factions which diſtracted the ſtate might have been eaſily kept under by the royal authority. The queen-mother found herſelf placed between the catholics and the proteſtants, the Condés and the Guiſes. The conſtable of Montmorenci was at the head of a ſeparate faction. Diviſion reigned in the court, the city, and the provinces. Catherine could only negociate, inſtead of reigning. Her maxim of dividing all parties, that ſhe might be ſole miſtreſs, encreaſed the troubles and misfortunes of the ſtate. She began by appointing a conference to be held between the catholics and the proteſtants at Poiſſi*, which was ſubjecting the old religion to arbitration, and giving a great degree of credit to the Calviniſt party, by ſetting them up as diſputants againſt thoſe who thought themſelves rather entitled to be their judges.

* A little town in the iſle of France, on the river Seine, about five leagues below Paris. It was the birth-place of St. Lewis, and formerly the royal reſidence.

At

At this time, when Theodore Beza and other proteſtant divines came to Poiſſi, in order to maintain their doctrines in a public manner before the queen, and a court who as publicly ſung Marot's pſalms, cardinal Ferrara arrived in France as legate from pope Paul IV. but being grandſon to Alexander VI. by the mother's ſide, he was more deſpiſed on account of his birth, than reſpected for his place and merit; inſomuch, that his croſs-bearer was inſulted even by the lacqueys of the court. Prints of his grandfather were fixed up in the public places through which he was to paſs, with an account of the wicked and ſcandalous actions of his life. The legate brought with him one Laïnés, general of the order of Jeſuits, who did not underſtand a word of French, and diſputed at the conference in Italian, which tongue Catherine of Medicis had made familiar to the court, and it began to have a conſiderable influence on the French language itſelf. This Jeſuit had the boldneſs to tell the queen at the conference, that ſhe had no right to call this aſſembly, and that in ſo doing ſhe had uſurped the pope's authority. Nevertheleſs he diſputed in this aſſembly which he found fault with, and ſaid, in ſpeaking of the euchariſt, "That God was in place of the bread and wine, like a king who makes himſelf his own ambaſſador." This childiſh compariſon excited a ſmile of contempt, as his inſolent behaviour to the queen did the general indignation. Trifling things ſometimes occaſion great miſchiefs; and in the ſituation of minds at that time, every thing helped the cauſe of the new religion.

The

January, 1562. The conſequence of this conference, and of the intrigues that followed upon it, was the iſſuing of an edict, permitting the proteſtants to have preaching places without the city, and this edict of pacification proved the ſource of the civil wars. The duke of Guiſe, though removed from his poſt of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, ſtill wanted to be its maſter: he was already connected with Philip II. and was looked upon by the people as the protector of the catholic religion. The grandees in thoſe times never travelled without a numerous retinue; and not as they do now, in a poſt-chaiſe with two or three footmen only; they were always attended by an hundred horſemen: this was all their magnificence, for three or four of them lay in one bed; and when they were in waiting at court, they had only a ſorry apartment to live in, without any other furniture than a few cheſts. The duke of Guiſe, as he was going through Vaſſi, a town on the borders of Champagne, came upon ſome Calviniſts, who, in conſequence of the privilege granted them by the edict, were ſinging pſalms after their manner in a barn. His ſervants fell upon and inſulted theſe poor people, killed about ſixty of them, and wounded and diſperſed the reſt. Upon this there was a general riſing of the proteſtants in almoſt every part of the kingdom, and the nation became divided between the prince of Condé and the duke of Guiſe. Catherine de Medicis fluctuated between both; nothing was ſeen on all ſides but killing and plundering. The queen was then at Paris with the king her ſon, where, finding herſelf deprived

prived of all authority, ſhe wrote to the prince of Condé to come to her deliverance. This fatal letter was an order for continuing the civil war, which was proſecuted with the greateſt inhumanity. Every town was become a fortified poſt, and every ſtreet a field of battle.

On one ſide were the duke of Guiſe and his brother, united by convenience with the faction of the conſtable of Montmorenci, who was maſter of the king's perſon. On the other the prince of Condé, joined by the Coligni party. Anthony king of Navarre, the firſt prince of the blood, a weak and irreſolute man, who knew not of what religion or party he was; jealous of his brother Condé, and obliged to ſerve againſt his will the duke of Guiſe, whom he deteſted, was dragged to the ſiege of Rouen, together with the queen-mother, Catherine of Medicis: he was killed at this ſiege, and deſerves a place in hiſtory on no other account than that of being father to the great Henry IV. 1562

The war, which continued without interruption till the peace of Vervins, was carried on after much the ſame manner as in the times of anarchy, at the decline of the ſecond race, and the beginning of the third. There were very few regular troops on either ſide, excepting ſome companies of men at arms, belonging to the principal chiefs. Plunder was their only pay; and all that the proteſtant faction could ſcrape together, they employed in bringing over German troops to complete the deſtruction of the kingdom. The king of Spain on his ſide ſent ſome few ſoldiers to the catholics, in order

to

to feed a flame which he hoped to turn to his own advantage, and thirteen Spaniſh companies marched to the relief of Montluc in Saintonge. Theſe were, without contradiction, the moſt fatal times that the French monarchy had ever experienced.

1562 The firſt pitched battle between the catholics and the reformed was fought near Dreux *, wherein not only Frenchman engaged againſt Frenchman, but the royal infantry was chiefly compoſed of Swiſs, as the proteſtant army was of Germans. This battle was remarkable by both generals being made priſoners; Montmorenci who commanded the king's army in quality of conſtable, and the prince of Condé who was at the head of the reformed army. The duke of Guiſe, who was ſecond in command to the conſtable, gained the battle, and Condé's lieutenant, Coligni, ſaved his army. The duke of Guiſe was then at the heighth of his glory; always victorious whereever he came, and always repairing the errors made by the conſtable, his rival in authority, but not in fame. He was the idol of the catholics, and maſter of the court; he was affable, generous, and in every ſenſe the firſt man in the kingdom.

1563 After his victory at Dreux, he went and laid ſiege to Orleans. This city was the center of the proteſtant faction, and he was on the point of reducing it when he was aſſaſſinated. The murder of this great man was

* A city in the iſle of France, and one of the eldeſt in the kingdom; it is about forty miles diſtant from Paris.

the

the firſt which fanaticiſm had cauſed to be committed. Theſe very Huguenots, who under Francis I. and Henry II. thought of nothing but worſhipping God and ſuffering what they called martyrdom, were become the moſt furious enthuſiaſts, and ſtudied the ſcriptures, only to find out examples of aſſaſſinations. Poltrot de Meré imagined himſelf another Aod, ſent from God to kill a Philiſtine chief. This is ſo true, that his party made verſes in his praiſe; and I myſelf have ſeen a print of him with an inſcription extolling his crime to the ſkies. And yet his crime was that of a coward, for he pretended to be a deſerter from the reformed party, and watched an opportunity to ſtab the duke of Guiſe into the back. He had the impudence to charge the admiral de Coligni, and Theodore de Beza, with having at leaſt connived at his deſign; but he varied ſo much in his depoſitions, that he deſtroyed his own impoſture. Coligni even offered to go to Paris to be confronted with this miſcreant, and requeſted the queen to ſuſpend the execution till the truth could be cleared up. It muſt be acknowledged that the admiral, tho' the leader of a faction, had never been guilty of the leaſt action that could warrant a ſuſpicion of ſo black a treachery.

It was not ſufficient that the Spaniards, Germans, and Swiſs were called in to help the French to deſtroy each other, the Engliſh were likewiſe ſent for to join in the general ruin. Three thouſand of them had been introduced by the Huguenots into Havre-de-grace, a ſea-port town built by Francis I. but the conſtable of Montmorenci, who had been exchanged for the

the prince of Condé, after great difficulty drove them out again. Theſe troubles were now ſucceeded by a momentary peace; Condé was reconciled to the court, but his brother the admiral ſtill continued at the head of a powerful party in the provinces.

In the mean time Charles IX. having attained the age of thirteen years and one day, held his bed of juſtice, not in the parliament of Paris, but in that of Rouen; and it is remarkable, that his mother, when ſhe reſigned her commiſſion of regent, kneeled to him.

1563

A ſcene paſſed on this occaſion, which is entirely without example; Odet de Châtillon, cardinal biſhop of Beauvais, had, like his brother, changed to the reformed religion, and had taken a wife. The pope upon this ſtruck him out of the liſt of cardinals, and he himſelf expreſſed a contempt for the title; but, in order to brave the pope, he aſſiſted at the ceremony in his cardinal's habit; his wife was allowed to be ſeated in preſence of the king and queen, as the wife of a peer of the realm; and was ſometimes called "The counteſs of Beauvais, and ſometimes "the cardinal's lady."

France was full of abſurdities equally great. The confuſion of the civil wars had deſtroyed all kind of government and decency. The church-livings were almoſt all in the poſſeſſion of laymen; an abbey or a biſhopric was given as a marriage-portion with a daughter: [illegible] theſe irregularities, now grown cuſtomary, [illegible] all forgotten in the boſom of peace, the [illegible] of all bleſſings. The Huguenots, [illegible]

allowed the exerciſe of their religion, though they were ſtill upon their guard, remained quiet; and the prince of Condé joined in the diverſions of the court. But this calm was of ſhort duration; the Huguenot party inſiſted upon too many ſureties, and the government granted them too few. The prince of Condé wanted a ſhare in the adminiſtration; the cardinal of Lorrain, chief of a powerful and numerous houſe, aimed at holding the firſt poſt in the ſtate; the conſtable of Montmorenci, who was an enemy to this family, retained his power, and ſhared in the authority of the court; the Colignis, and the other Huguenot chiefs, prepared to oppoſe the houſe of Lorrain. Every one ſtrove to have a ſhare in the diſmembering of the ſtate; the catholic clergy on one ſide, and the proteſtant miniſters on the other, ſet up the cry of religion. God was their pretence; a thirſt of rule, their God; and the people, intoxicated with fanaticiſm, were at once the inſtruments and the victims of the ambition of all theſe oppoſite factions.

The prince of Condé, who had attempted to reſcue young Francis II. from the hands of the Guiſes at Amboiſe, now endeavoured to get Charles IX. into his own power, and take the city of Meaux from the conſtable of Montmorenci. This Lewis of Condé made exactly the ſame war, with the ſame ſtratagems, and on the ſame pretences, (religion excepted) which his name-ſake Lewis the Great, prince of Condé, did afterwards, during the diſputes of the league. The prince and the admiral fought the battle of St. Denis againſt the conſtable, who was mortally

1567

Nov. 10, 1567.

tally wounded there, in the eightieth year of his age. He was a man equally intrepid at court and in the field, poſſeſſed of great virtues and great faults, unfortunate as a general, in diſpoſition moroſe, capricious, and obſtinate; but an honeſt man, and one of a noble way of thinking. It was he who ſaid to his confeſſor, "Do you think that I have lived fourſcore years to be at a loſs to know how to die for one quarter of an hour?" His effigy in wax was carried, like thoſe of the kings of France, to the church of Notre Dame, and the members of the ſupreme courts attended his funeral obſequies by order of the court; an honour which depends, as almoſt every thing of this kind does, on the will of the prince and the circumſtances of the times.

This battle of St. Denis was indeciſive, and the kingdom was only rendered more miſerable by it. Admiral de Coligni, who was the moſt fruitful in reſources of any man in his age, ſent into the Palatinate for near ten thouſand Germans, though he had no money to pay them with. It was now ſeen what a religious zeal, ſtrengthened with a party-ſpirit, is capable of doing. The admiral's army taxed itſelf to pay the Palatine forces. The whole kingdom was laid waſte. It was no longer a war wherein one power aſſembles its forces againſt another, and gains the victory or is deſtroyed; there were as many different wars as there were towns; ſubject deſtroyed ſubject with the moſt bloody fury, and relation, relation. Neither the catholic, the proteſtant, the neutral, the prieſt, nor the mechanic, went to bed in ſafety. The ground lay untilled, or was manured

manured with ſword in hand. A forced peace * now enſued; but every peace was only a ſmothered war, and every day was diſtinguiſhed by murders and aſſaſſinations. 1568

The war ſoon broke out again openly; and now it was that Rochelle became the center and principal ſeat of the reformed party, and the Geneva of France. This town is commodiouſly ſituated on the ſea-coaſt, is become a flouriſhing republic, and was ſuch at that time in ſome degree; for, after having been in poſſeſſion of the kings of England ever ſince the marriage of Eleonora of Guienne with Henry II. it yielded obedience to Charles V. of France, on condition of being allowed to coin ſilver money in its own name, and that its mayors and ſheriffs ſhould be reputed noble. By theſe and ſeveral other privileges, together with an extenſive trade, it was become tolerably powerful, and continued ſo till the time of cardinal Richelieu. It was ſtrongly ſupported by queen Elizabeth; and its dominion at that time extended over Aunis, Saintonge, and Angoumois, where was fought the famous battle of Jarnac.

The duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. who was at the head of the royal army with the title of general, though the marechal de Tavannes was ſo in reality, proved victorious. Prince Lewis of Condé was killed, or rather murdered after his defeat, by Monteſquiou, captain of the guard to the duke of Anjou. Co- March 13, 1569.

* It was concluded at Longjumeau, and called *the little peace*, becauſe it laſted only ſix months.

ligni, who was ſtill called the admiral, though no longer in that poſt, rallied the remains of the conquered army, and made the victory uſeleſs to the royaliſts. Joan d'Albret, queen of Navarre, widow to the weak king Anthony, preſented her ſon to the army, by whom he was acknowledged as head of their party; ſo that Henry IV. the beſt of all our French kings, was, as well as Lewis XII. a rebel before he aſcended the throne. Admiral Coligni was the real head, both of the Huguenot party and of the army, and was like a father to Henry IV. and the princes of the houſe of Condé. He alone was the ſupport of this unhappy cauſe: though in want of money, he kept an army on foot, found means to procure a ſupply of troops from Germany, though unable to pay them for their ſervice; and, when defeated again at the battle of Moncontour in Poitou, by the 1569 duke of Anjou's army, he ſtill repaired the loſſes of his party.

They had no uniform manner of fighting in thoſe times. The German and Swiſs infantry made uſe only of long ſpears, the French moſt commonly of muſkets and ſhort halberts; the German cavalry made uſe of piſtols, and the French fought only with the lance. The ſtrongeſt armies ſeldom exceeded twenty thouſand men, nor could they afford to maintain a greater number. The battle of Moncontour was followed by a thouſand ſkirmiſhes in the different provinces.

At length, after numberleſs deſolations, a new peace ſeemed to promiſe the kingdom a breathing

breathing time *; but this peace only prepared the way for the fatal maſſacre of St. Bartholomew. This dreadful day had been meditated and planned for above two years. It is hardly poſſible to conceive how a woman like Catherine of Medicis, brought up in the midſt of pleaſures, and to whom the Huguenot party had given the leaſt umbrage of any, could have been capable of forming ſo barbarous a reſolution. It is ſtill more ſurpriſing in a young king, not quite twenty years of age. The Guiſe faction had a great ſhare in this horrid enterprize. Two Italians, the cardinal of Birague and the cardinal of Retz, were thoſe who diſpoſed the minds of the people for it. They gloried at that time in adopting Machiavel's maxims, eſpecially that which teaches that no crime ſhould be committed by halves. The beſt political maxim would have been not to commit any crime; but the manners of men had taken a ferocious turn from the continual civil wars they were engaged in, in deſpite of thoſe pleaſures and amuſements with which Catherine of Medicis always entertained the court. This mixture of gallantry and ferocity, of pleaſures and ſlaughter, forms the oddeſt picture in which the contradictions of human-kind were ever exhibited. Charles IX. who was not at all the ſoldier, was yet of a blood-thirſty diſpoſition; and though he indulged himſelf with miſtreſſes, he had a cruel heart. He is the firſt king who ever conſpired 1570

* This peace was concluded at St. Germain, in the month of Auguſt 1570, and was very advantageous to the proteſtants, which made their chiefs ſuſpect ſome bad deſign.

againſt his ſubjects. The plot was laid with as deep diſſimulation as the action itſelf was horrible. One thing alone might have given ſome ſuſpicion; which was, that one day while he was diverting himſelf with hunting of rabbets in a warren, he ſaid to his attendants, "Drive them all out, that I may have the pleaſure of killing them all." Accordingly, a gentleman of Coligni's party left Paris in haſte, and told the admiral at taking his leave, "That he was going to fly the place, becauſe, ſaid he, they make too much of us."

It is but too well known to Europe *, how Charles IX. married his ſiſter to Henry of Navarre

* The queen of Navarre was decoyed to Paris by a propoſal of marriage between her ſon, who was afterwards Henry IV. and the princeſs Margaret, ſiſter to Charles IX. the reigning king. The ſame pretence was uſed for alluring thither Henry, then prince of Bearn, and his uncle the prince of Condé. The admiral Coligni was invited by Charles, with a promiſe of declaring him general in a war againſt Spain in the Low Countries, and Coligni was accompanied by other chiefs of the Huguenots, depending upon the peace which had been lately ratified. The queen of Navarre died ſuddenly, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon. The admiral going home to his own lodgings, about eleven in the forenoon, and reading a petition which had been preſented to him, was wounded by a ſhot from a window, fired by one Maurevel, hired for the purpoſe. The king viſiting him in the afternoon, expreſſed the utmoſt concern for his diſaſter, and aſſured him he would take ample vengeance of the aſſaſſin and his abettors. This perfidious prince had, with his mother and council, already projected the ſcheme, which was now put in execution on the eve of St. Bartholomew. The duke of Guiſe, who was at the head of this ſhocking enterprize, communicated the king's intention to the preſident Charron, intendant of Paris, who ordered the captains of the different wards to arm the burghers

varre in order to draw him into the ſnare, what oaths he made uſe of to gain his confidence, and with what cruelty he afterwards executed thoſe maſſacres which he had planned for two years before. Father Daniel ſays, "That Charles IX. was an excellent *comedian*, and

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ghers privately: that at the alarm, which would be rung on the bell of the palace-clock, the citizens ſhould place lights in their windows, then break into the houſes of the Huguenots, and put them all to the ſword, without diſtinction. About midnight the duke of Guiſe, accompanied by the duke d'Aumale, the grand prior of France, a number of officers, and three hundred choice ſoldiers, marched to the admiral's hotel, broke open the gates, and entered the houſe. A colonel and two other deſperadoes going up ſtairs to the admiral's apartment, butchered him without queſtion, and threw his body out of the window. All his domeſtics met with the ſame fate, while the trained bands acted the ſame tragedy in the Louvre, as well as within the city. Two thouſand perſons were maſſacred that night, and a great number periſhed next day. At the ſame time the Huguenots were ſacrificed in like manner by orders from court, at Meaux, Orleans, Troye, Bourges, Angers, Tholouſe, Rouen, and Lyons. The mangled body of the admiral was inſulted by the populace, and hung upon the gibbet of Montfaucon. The young king of Navarre and his couſin the prince of Condé were cloſeted by the king, who told them, that if they refuſed to embrace the Roman catholic religion, they ſhould not be alive in three days. The parliament being aſſembled, and informed by their ſovereign of the ſteps he had taken, in conſequence (as he ſaid) of a conſpiracy againſt the catholics, the preſident, who was father of the celebrated hiſtorian Thuanus, harangued in praiſe of the king's conduct; and the advocate-general propoſed that the admiral and his accomplices might be proceeded againſt in form of law. Accordingly the murdered Coligni was tried, condemned, and hanged in effigy. In a word, this whole affair was one of the moſt infamous plans of perfidious cruelty that ever was executed, and leaves an indelible ſtain on the French nation.

played his *part* incomparably well." I ſhall not repeat the circumſtances attending this execrable tragedy, which are known to all the world, as that one half of the nation butchered the other, with a dagger in one hand and a crucifix in the other, while the king himſelf fired from a window upon the unhappy wretches who were flying for their lives. I ſhall only remark ſome few particulars; the principal is, if we believe the duke of Sully, Matthieu, and other hiſtorians, that Henry IV. had often told them, that playing at dice with the dukes of Alençon and Guiſe, ſome days before the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, they ſaw, twice together, ſpots of blood upon the dice, upon which they quitted their game in the utmoſt conſternation. Father Daniel, who has preſerved this circumſtance in his hiſtory, ought to have been well enough acquainted with phyſics, to know that the black points, when making a given angle with the rays of the ſun, will appear red; this is known to every one who reads at all, and here was the whole of this ſurpriſing prodigy. There certainly was nothing miraculous in all this action, but that religious fury which made ſavage beaſts of a people, who have ſince been of ſo mild and airy a diſpoſition.

Father Daniel alſo relates, that when the dead body of Coligni was hanged upon the gibbet of Montfaucon, Charles IX. went to feed his eyes with this cruel ſpectacle, ſaying, "That the body of a dead enemy always ſmelt well." He ſhould have added, that this was an old ſpeech of Vitellius *, which has

* Abhorrentes quoſdam cadaverum tabem, deteſtabili voce confirmare auſus eſt: *optimè olere occiſum hoſtem, et melius civem.* Sueton. in Vitel.

been attributed to Charles IX. But what is moſt worthy of obſervation is, that father Daniel would perſuade us that theſe murders were not premeditated. Perhaps the time, place, and manner of the maſſacre, or the number of thoſe to be proſcribed, might not have been concerted for two years before; but it is certain, that the deſign of exterminating the party had been framed long before. The whole of Mezeray's account, who is a much better Frenchman than father Daniel, and much ſuperior as an hiſtorian in the laſt hundred years of the monarchy, will not permit us to doubt of it; beſides, Daniel contradicts himſelf, when he praiſes Charles IX. for being ſo good a *comedian*, and acting his *part* ſo well.

The manners of men, and the ſpirit of a party, diſcover themſelves in the way of writing hiſtory. Daniel contents himſelf with ſaying, "that at Rome they praiſed the king for his zeal, and the dreadful puniſhment he inflicted on the heretics." Baronius ſays that "this action was neceſſary." The court gave orders for the ſame maſſacre in all the provinces as at Paris; but ſeveral of the commandants of thoſe provinces, as St. Herem in Auvergne, la Guiche at Maçon, the viſcount of Orme at Bayonne, and ſeveral others, refuſed to obey, and wrote to Charles IX. nearly in theſe terms; "That they would die for his ſervice, but would not conſent to murder any one for him."

Theſe were times of ſuch horror and fanaticiſm, or fear had taken ſuch ſtrong hold of all minds, that the parliament of Paris ordered a proceſſion every year on St. Bartholomew's day, to give thanks to God for the extirpation of

the heretics. The chancellor de l'Hôpital was of a very different opinion when he wrote *excidat illa dies*, "Let that day be for ever erazed." Accordingly there was no proceſſion; and afterwards they were ſhocked at the thoughts of preſerving the remembrance of an action that ought for ever to be buried in oblivion. But, during the heat of the affair, the court ordered the parliament to try the admiral after his death; and two gentlemen, his friends, Briguemaut and Cavagnes, were formally convicted, and drawn upon a ſledge to the Greve, together with the admiral's effigy, and there executed. Thus did they complete this horrid ſcene, by adding the forms of juſtice to their inhuman maſſacres.

If there could be any thing more deplorable than this maſſacre, it was, that it proved the occaſion of a civil war, inſtead of deſtroying the roots of theſe troubles. The Calviniſts now determined to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. About ſixty thouſand of their brethren had been butchered in time of profound peace, and there ſtill remained above two millions ready to carry on the war. Freſh maſſacres now followed on both ſides. The ſiege of Sancerre was very remarkable. Hiſtorians tell us, that the reformed defended themſelves in that town as the Jews defended themſelves in Jeruſalem againſt Titus; and like them were at laſt overpowered, after having ſuffered the ſame extremities, inſomuch that a father and a mother were driven to make a meal upon their own child. The ſame is ſaid to have happened afterwards in Paris, when that city was beſieged by Henry IV.

In

In the midſt of theſe diſaſters, the duke of Anjou, who had acquired ſome reputation in Europe by the battles of Jarnac and Moncontour, was elected king of Poland. He conſidered this dignity only as an honourable exile. He was called to reſide among a people whoſe language he did not underſtand, who were at that time looked upon in the world as little better than barbarians, and who, tho' they were not ſo miſerable, ſo devoured with fanaticiſm, or ſo diſtracted with factions as the French, were at the ſame time much leſs civilized and poliſhed. The duke of Anjou's private apenage * was worth more to him than the crown of Poland; it amounted to one million two hundred thouſand livres, and this diſtant kingdom to which he was going was ſo poor, that in the diploma of election it was ſtipulated, as an eſſential clauſe, that the king ſhould lay out theſe one million two hundred thouſand livres in Poland. Accordingly he repaired with an ill-will to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity, and yet he ſeemed not to have much to regret in leaving France. The court he quitted was a prey to as many diſſentions as the ſtate itſelf. Every day brought new conſpiracies real or imaginary, duels, murders, and impriſonments, without form or reaſon, and which were worſe than the troubles which occaſioned them. There were not ſo many illuſtrious heads brought to the ſcaffold as in England, but there were more private murders 1573

* Lands ſet apart for the maintenance of younger children of the royal family.

committed, and they already began to grow acquainted with poiſon.

Nevertheleſs, when the ambaſſadors of Poland came to Paris to pay their homage to Henry III. the court gave them a moſt brilliant and delicately imagined entertainment, in which the genius and talents of the nation ſhone thro' the midſt of all theſe horrors and calamities. Sixteen ladies of the court, repreſenting the ſixteen principal provinces of France, after dancing a ballet, accompanied with machinery, preſented the king of Poland and the ambaſſadors with gold medals, on which were engraved the productions peculiar to each province.

Henry had ſcarcely taken poſſeſſion of the throne of Poland, when Charles IX. died, at the age of twenty-four years and one month, after having made his name odious to all the earth, at a time of life when the ſubjects of his capital were not reckoned out of their minority. He died of a very extraordinary diſtemper: his blood oozed from all the pores of his body. This accident, which is not wholly without example, may have been cauſed by exceſſive fear, a violent tranſport of paſſion, or an overheated and atrabiliary conſtitution *; but it paſſed with the people, eſpecially the proteſtants, for the effect of divine vengeance. An uſeful notion, did it put a ſtop to the wickedneſs of thoſe who are powerful, or unfortunate enough not to be ſubject to the curb of the laws.

1574 The inſtant Henry III. heard of his brother's death, he fled from Poland as

* More likely the effect of a putrid colliquation of the blood, and a relaxation of the capillaries.

a man

a man would fly from priſon. He might have obtained the conſent of the ſenate to have divided himſelf between that kingdom and his hereditary dominions, of which there has been many examples: but he haſtened from that ſavage nation to ſeek in his own country a train of miſeries and a death as fatal as had ever yet been ſeen in France.

He quitted a country where the manners of the people, though rough, were ſimple; and where ignorance and poverty made their lives gloomy, but at the ſame time preſerved them from being ſtained with great crimes. The court of France, on the contrary, was a mixture of luxury, intrigues, gallantry, debauchery, plots, ſuperſtition, and atheiſm. Catherine of Medicis, who was niece to pope Clement VII. had introduced a venality among all the places at her court, ſuch as was practiſed at the pontiff's. Another invention which ſhe imported with her from Italy was that of ſelling the king's revenues to certain farmers or purchaſers, who advanced money upon them; an expedient which, though it may be uſeful for a time, is attended with laſting danger. The ſuperſtitious belief of judicial aſtrology, enchantments, and witchcrafts, were likewiſe fruits of her tranſplanting from her own country into France; for although the revival of the polite arts was in a great meaſure owing to the Florentines, yet they were very far from having any knowledge of true philoſophy. The queen had brought over with her one Luke Gauric *, an aſtro-

* He was a native of Geſoni in the kingdom of Naples, who had made great progreſs in mathematics and judicial aſtro-

aſtrologer, a man who at this time of day would be deſpiſed, even by the populace, as a wretched juggler; but was then looked upon as a perſon of great conſideration. There are ſtill to be ſeen in the cabinets of the curious ſome of the conſtellated rings and taliſmans of thoſe times; as is that famous medal in which Catherine is repreſented naked, between the conſtellations Aries and Taurus, with the name Ebulla Aſmodea over her head, holding a dart in one hand, and an heart in the other; and in the exergue the name *Oriel*.

Never was the folly of witchcraft in ſo much credit as at that time. It was common to make figures of wax, which they pierced to the heart, pronouncing at the ſame time certain unintelligible words. By this they fancied they deſtroyed their enemies: nor were they in the leaſt undeceived by the failure of ſucceſs. One Coſmo Ruggieri *, a Florentine, being accuſed

aſtrology. He lived in high favour with pope Paul III. who raiſed him to the biſhopric of Civita Ducale. He is ſaid to have predicted, that Henry II. of France would be ſlain in a duel, or ſingle combat. This prediction ſubjected him to the ridicule and contempt of the French court; but when it was verified, he came to be in great requeſt with Catherine de Medicis.

* By making horoſcopes at the court of France he obtained the abbacy of St. Mabé in Brittany. He was afterwards ſent to the gallies for having been in a conſpiracy againſt Charles IX. but ſoon releaſed by the queen mother. He compoſed philtres and almanacks, and after a long abſence appearing at the court of Henry IV. had the impudence to affirm that it was not he, but a certain gardener, who had been condemned in the preceding reign. He lived to an old age, and dying a profeſſed atheiſt was denied chriſtian burial.

of having practiſed againſt the life of Charles IX. by theſe pretended ſpells, was put to the torture. Another of theſe magicians was condemned to be burnt, who declared on his examination, that there were above thirty thouſand of the ſame profeſſion in France.

Theſe madneſſes were accompanied with numberleſs acts of devotion, and theſe again were intermixed wtth the moſt abandoned debaucheries. The proteſtants, on the contrary, who piqued themſelves upon reformation, oppoſed the ſtricteſt ſeverity of conduct to the licentious manners of the court. They puniſhed adultery with death. Shews and games of all kinds were held in as much abhorrence by them as the ceremonies of the Romiſh church, and they put the maſs almoſt upon the ſame footing with witchcrafts: ſo that there were two nations in France abſolutely different the one from the other; and there was the leſs proſpect of reunion, as the Huguenots had ever ſince the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew entertained a deſign of forming themſelves into a republic.

The king of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. and Henry prince of Condé, ſon to that Lewis who was aſſaſſinated at Jarnac, were the heads of this party; but they had been detained priſoners at court ever ſince the time of the maſſacre. Charles IX. had offered them the alternative of changing their religion or ſuffering death. Princes who have ſeldom any other religion than that of intereſt, do not often chooſe to encounter martyrdom. Henry of Navarre, and Henry of Condé then had turned catholics; but at the death of Charles IX. Condé found means to make his eſcape, and ſolemn-

ſolemnly abjured the Romiſh faith at Straſbourg: he afterwards took refuge in the Palatinate, and made uſe of his credit with the Germans to procure ſuccours for his party, in the ſame manner as his father had formerly done.

Henry III. at his return to France had it in his power to ſettle matters in that kingdom; it was bathed in blood, it was divided on all ſides, but it was not diſmembered. It was ſtill in poſſeſſion of Pignerol, and the marquiſate of Saluces, and conſequently of all the ports of Italy. A few years of a tolerable adminiſtration might have healed the wounds of a nation where the land is fruitful and the inhabitants induſtrious. Henry of Navarre was ſtill in the power of the queen mother, Catherine of Medicis, who had been declared regent of the kingdom, by Charles IX. till the return of the new king. The Huguenots only deſired a protection for their religion and properties; and their ſcheme of forming a republic could never have prevailed againſt the royal authority reſolutely exerted, and not carried to extremes. They might have been eaſily kept within bounds. Such at leaſt were always the opinions and counſels of the wiſeſt heads in the kingdom, ſuch as the chancellor de L'Hôpital, Paul de Foix, Chriſtopher de Thou, father of the authentic and eloquent hiſtorian, Pibrac, and Harlay; but the favourites, who thought to be gainers by a war, determined the king to proſecute violent meaſures.

No ſooner was the king arrived at Lyons, than with the handful of troops which had been ſent to meet him, he endeavoured to ſtorm thoſe towns, which by a little politic management he

might have quietly reduced to their duty. He might have perceived that he had taken a wrong ſtep, when endeavouring to force a ſmall town called Levron ſword in hand, they called to him from the top of the walls, "Draw near, aſſaſſins; come on bloody murderers, you ſhall not find us aſleep as you found the admiral."

He had not at that time money ſufficient to pay the ſoldiers, who therefore diſbanded of their own accord; and, happy in not being attacked upon the road, he went to Rheims to be conſecrated, and from thence to Paris to make his entry under theſe melancholy auſpices, and in the midſt of a civil war, which his preſence had revived, whereas it might have ſtifled it. He could neither curb the Huguenots, content the Catholics, check his brother the duke of Alençon, then duke of Anjou, manage his finances, nor diſcipline an army. He wanted to be abſolute, and took no method of being ſo. He made himſelf odious by the ſhameful debaucheries he indulged himſelf in with his minions. He rendered himſelf contemptible by his ſuperſtitious practices and his proceſſions, by which he thought to throw a veil over his infamy, and which only tended to expoſe it the more. He weakened his authority by his extravagance, at a time when he ought to have converted all his gold into ſteel. There was no police, no juſtice; his favourites were murdered before his face, or cut each other's throats in their quarrels. His own brother, the duke of Anjou, who was a Catholic, joined againſt him, with Henry of Condé, who was an Huguenot, and brought a body of Swiſs into the king-

kingdom, while the prince of Condé entered it with an army of Germans.

During this anarchy, Henry duke of Guiſe, ſon to the late duke Francis, a rich and powerful nobleman, now become chief of the houſe of Lorrain, in France, poſſeſſed of all his father's credit, idolized by the people, and feared by the court, obliges the king to beſtow the command of the armies on him. It was his intereſt to throw every thing into confuſion, that the court might ſtand in need of his ſervices.

The king demands a ſum of money of his city of Paris. He is anſwered that it had already furniſhed within the laſt fifteen years, thirty-ſix millions extraordinary; that the country had been plundered by the ſoldiery, the city by the financiers, and the church by ſimony and bad conduct. In ſhort, inſtead of ſupplies, he received only complaints.

In the mean time, young Henry of Navarre eſcapes from court, where he had hitherto been detained a priſoner. They might have apprehended him again as a prince of the blood, but they had no right upon his liberty as a king; ſuch he actually was, of Lower Normandy, and of the Upper by right of inheritance. He goes to Guienne. The Germans, who had been called in by Condé, entered the province of Champagne. The duke of Anjou, the king's brother, was likewiſe in arms.

The devaſtations of the late reign are revived anew. The king then does that by a ſhameful treaty which he ought to have done as an able ſovereign at his firſt acceſſion: he concludes a peace, and he granted at the ſame time much more

more than would have been demanded of him at firſt, namely, the free exerciſe of the reformed religion, with their churches, ſynods, and courts of juſtice; to conſiſt of one half catholics, and the other half proteſtants, in the parliaments of Paris, Toulouſe, Grenoble, Aix, Rouen, Dijon, and Rennes. He publicly diſowns the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, in which he was but too deeply concerned. He exempts from taxes for ſix years, the children of all thoſe who were killed in that maſſacre; reſtores the memory of the accuſed admiral Coligni to its honours; and, to compleat his own humiliation, ſubmits to pay the German troops of the prince palatine Caſimir, thoſe very troops who had forced him to conclude this peace. But not having money enough to ſatisfy them, he permits them to live at diſcretion for three months in the provinces of Burgundy and Champagne. At length he ſends the ſum of ſix hundred thouſand crowns to Caſimir, by his envoy Believre, who is detained by that prince as hoſtage for the payment of the remainder, and carried priſoner to Heidelberg, through which city Caſimir orders the ſpoils of France to be carried in proceſſion to the ſound of trumpets, in open waggons, drawn by oxen with their horns gilded.

This low degree of infamy, to which the king was ſunk, emboldened Henry duke of Guiſe to form the league which had been projected by his uncle the cardinal of Lorrain, and to raiſe himſelf upon the ruins of a miſerable and ill-governed kingdom. The ſtate now teemed with factions, and Henry de Guiſe was formed for them. He is allowed to have had

all

all the noble qualities of his father, with the moſt headſtrong and deſigning ambition. Like him he enchanted all hearts; and it was ſaid of the father and ſon, that in compariſon with them all other princes appeared but as common men. He was extolled likewiſe for a generous and noble heart; but he gave no great proof of this, when in the ſtreet Betiſi he trampled upon the dead body of admiral Coligni, which had been juſt thrown out of a window before his face.

The league was firſt ſet on foot in Paris. Papers were diſperſed amongſt the citizens, containing a project of aſſociation for the defence of religion, the king, and the liberty of the ſtate; or rather oppreſs at once both king, ſtate, and religion. The league was afterwards ſolemnly ſigned at Peronne, and throughout the greater part of Picardy, and ſoon afterwards the reſt of the provinces acceded to it. The king of Spain declared himſelf its protector, and it afterwards received the ſanction of the pope. The king, preſſed between the Calviniſts, who demanded additional privileges, and the leaguers, who wanted to deprive him of his own, thought to ſtrike a blow in politics, by ſigning the league himſelf, for fear it ſhould cruſh him, and declared himſelf its chief, which inſpired the members of it with double boldneſs. He now found himſelf, againſt his will, obliged to break the peace he had concluded with the reformed, without having any money to carry on a new war. He convoked a general aſſembly of eſtates at Blois, but they refuſed to grant him the ſupplies

plies he demanded for this war, though they themſelves had forced him into it. 1576
He could not even obtain leave to ruin himſelf by alienating his demeſnes. However, he made ſhift to aſſemble an army by ruining himſelf in another manner, namely, by mortgaging the crown revenues, and creating new poſts. Hoſtilities were now renewed on both ſides, which were followed by another peace. The king was deſirous of having money and troops, only that he might be in a condition of no longer fearing the power of the Guiſes; but as ſoon as the peace was concluded, he conſumed his ſmall reſource in idle pleaſures, feaſting, and prodigalities, on his favourites.

It was difficult to govern ſuch a kingdom otherwiſe than by money or arms. Henry III. could ſcarcely procure either the one or the other. We ſhall now ſee what difficulty he had to procure in his greateſt need one million three hundred thouſand franks of the clergy for ſix years, to get the parliament to verify certain money edicts, and with what eagerneſs this tranſient ſupply was devoured by the marquis d'O, comptroller of the finances.

Henry could not be ſaid to reign. The catholic league and the proteſtant confederacy made war upon each other, in deſpite of him, in all the provinces of the kingdom. Epidemic diſeaſes and famine were added to theſe ſcourges; and at this time of general calamity, inorder to ſet up his own favourites againſtthe duke of Guiſe, after having created Joyeuſe and d'Epernon, dukes and peers, and given them precedence over their elder peers, he expended four millions on the marriage of the duke of Joyeuſe, with the

the ſiſter of the queen his conſort, and makes him his brother-in-law. New taxes were now raiſed to defray theſe prodigalities: this excited the indignation of the public afreſh. Had the duke of Guiſe not made a league againſt the king, his conduct was ſufficient to have produced one.

At this time too, his brother the duke of Anjou goes into the Netherlands, which were afflicted with equal deſolations, in purſuit of a principality, which he loſt by his imprudent tyranny. As Henry III. permitted his brother to put himſelf at the head of the malcontents in Flanders, and endeavour to wreſt the provinces of the Netherlands from Philip II. we may judge whether that monarch would ſupport the league in France, which was every day gaining freſh ſtrength. What then were the expedients which Henry thought fit to oppoſe againſt it? He inſtituted ſocieties of penitents, he built monkiſh cells at Vincennes for himſelf and the companions of his pleaſures: he made a ſhew of worſhiping God in public, while he committed the moſt unnatural acts in private: he went clad in white ſackcloth, with a diſcipline and a ſtring of beads hanging at his girdle, and called himſelf friar Henry. Such a conduct at once exaſperated and emboldened the leaguers. The pulpits of Paris publicly reſounded with cenſures againſt his infamous devotion. The faction of ſixteen* was formed

* The faction of the ſixteen was a kind of particular league for Paris only, conſiſting of ſeveral perſons, who were diſtributed in the ſixteen wards of the town, and who had ſhared the adminiſtration of affairs among one another; they were ſtaunch friends to the duke of Guiſe, and ſworn enemies to the king.

under the duke of Guiſe, and nothing of Paris remained to the king but the name.

Henry de Guiſe, now become maſter of the catholic party, had already procured troops with the money of his adherents, and began to attack the friends of the king of Navarre. This prince, who like Francis I. was the moſt generous cavalier of his time, offered to terminate this mighty difference by fighting the duke of Guiſe ſingly, or with ten againſt ten, or with any number that he ſhould chuſe. He wrote to Henry III. his brother-in-law, remonſtrating to him that the league was aimed much more againſt his crown and dignity, than againſt the Huguenot party; he pointed out to him the precipice on which he ſtood, and offered to deliver him at the hazard of his life and fortunes. 1585

At this very time pope Sixtus V. fulminated that famous bull againſt the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, in which he calls them, "The baſtard and deteſtable race of the houſe of Bourbon," and declares them to have forfeited all right of inheritance and ſucceſſion. The league made their own uſe of this bull, and obliged the king to proſecute his brother-in-law, who endeavoured to aſſiſt him, and to protect and ſecond the duke of Guiſe, who was dethroning him with reſpect. This was the ninth civil war ſince the death of Francis II.

Henry IV. (for we muſt already call him ſo, ſince that name is ſo famous and dear, and is become a kind of proper name) Henry IV. had at once upon his hands, the king of France, Margaret his own wife, and the league.

Mar-

Margaret, by declaring againſt her huſband, revived the old barbarous times, when excommunications broke the ties of ſociety, and made a prince execrable to his neareſt relations. Henry now ſhewed himſelf the great man he was: he braved the pope even in Rome itſelf, cauſed papers to be fixed up at the corners of the high ſtreets, in which he gave Sixtus V. the formal lye, and appealed from his bull to the court of peers.

He eaſily prevented his imprudent wife from ſeizing upon Agenois, which ſhe attempted to do; and as to the royal army which was ſent againſt him under the command of the duke of Joyeuſe, all the world knows how he defeated it at Coutras, where he fought like a common ſoldier at the head of his troops, took ſeveral priſoners with his own hand, and ſhewed as much humanity and modeſty after his victory, as he had ſhewn courage during the fight *.

This day gained him more reputation than it brought him real advantages. His army was not like that of a king, which is kept in pay, and always ready for ſervice; it was that of the

* The duke de Joyeuſe threw down his ſword to two officers, and offered them one hundred thouſand crowns for his ranſom; but a captain called St. Herai, riding up at that inſtant, ſhot him dead with a piſtol. His brother, the marquis de St. Sauveur, likewiſe loſt his life. The Catholics were totally routed, with great ſlaughter; but Henry, inſtead of improving his victory, by advancing towards the Loire, and joining his German auxiliaries, or by reducing the provinces of Xaintonge, Angoumois, Poitou, and part of Anjou, where he would have met with little or no oppoſition, repaired to Bearn, to viſit the counteſs of Grammont, at whoſe feet he laid all the ſtandards which he had taken in the battle.

head

head of a party, and had no regular pay. The officers could not prevent their ſoldiers from returning home to gather in their harveſts, and were obliged to retire themſelves to their eſtates. Henry IV. has been accuſed of having loſt the fruits of his victory by going to Bearn, to pay a viſit to the counteſs of Grammont, of whom he was enamoured. Theſe people do not reflect that his army might eaſily have acted in his abſence, could he have kept it together. Henry of Condé, his couſin, a prince whoſe manners were as auſtere as thoſe of Navarre were gay and ſprightly, quitted the army as well as him, and retired to his eſtate, after having remained ſome time in Poitou, as did all the reſt of the officers, after ſolemnly ſwearing to reaſſemble again by the twentieth of November. Such was the method of making war at that time.

But the prince of Condé's ſtay at St. John of Angeli was one of the moſt fatal events of theſe horrid times. After having ſupped with his wife Charlotte de la Trimouille, at his return he was ſeized with convulſions, which carried him off in two days. The judge of St. John of Angeli by his own authority committed the princeſs to priſon, examined her himſelf, entered a criminal proceſs againſt her, condemned a young page named Permillac de Belle-Caſtel for contumacy, and ſentenced Brillaut the prince's *maitre de hotel* to be drawn aſunder by four horſes, in the town of St. John of Angeli, which ſentence was afterwards confirmed by commiſſioners appointed by the king of Navarre himſelf. The princeſs, who was with child, appealed to the court of peers, who

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declared her innocent, and ordered the proceedings againſt her to be burnt. It may be neceſſary in this place to refute the ſtory which has been repeated by ſo many different writers, that this princeſs was delivered of the great Condé fourteen months after her huſband's death, and that the Sorbonne was conſulted concerning the child's legitimacy. Nothing can be more falſe; it has been ſufficiently proved, that the young prince of Condé was born within ſix months after his father's deceaſe.

If Henry of Navarre defeated the king's army at the battle of Coutras, the duke of Guiſe on his ſide, almoſt at the ſame time, routed an army of Germans, which was upon the march to join Henry, in which action he gave proofs of as great conduct as that prince had of courage. The unfortunate affair of Coutras, and the duke of Guiſe's reputation, proved two freſh ſubjects of uneaſineſs to the king of France. Guiſe, in concert with all the princes of his houſe, drew up a petition to the king, in which they requeſted of him the publication of the council of Trent, and the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition; that he would order the eſtates of all the Huguenots to be confiſcated, for the uſe of the heads of the league; that new places of ſecurity ſhould be put into their hands; and that he would baniſh ſuch favourites as they ſhould name to him. Every article of this petition was a barefaced outrage upon the royal authority. The people of Paris, and eſpecially the cabal of ſixteen, publicly inſulted the king's favourites, and were even wanting in a proper reſpect to his own perſon.

But

But the real adminiſtration of the ſtate at that time is beſt ſhewn by a ſmall circumſtance, which proved the cauſe of that year's diſaſters. The king, in order to prevent the troubles which he ſaw were likely to ariſe in Paris, forbade the duke of Guiſe to enter that city. He wrote him two letters on this ſubject, which he ordered to be diſpatched by two couriers; but there being no money in the treaſury to defray this neceſſary expence, the letters were put into the poſt, and the duke of Guiſe arrives at Paris with the ſpecious excuſe that he had not received the order. This occaſioned the battle of the Barricadoes *. It would be ſuperfluous to repeat what has been ſaid by ſo many hiſtorians relating to this affair. Every one knows that the king quitted his capital and fled before his ſubjects, and that he afterwards convoked the ſecond aſſembly of eſtates at Blois, where he cauſed the duke of Guiſe and the cardinal his brother to be aſſaſſinated †, after having

* The king having introduced ſix thouſand troops into the city of Paris, with a view to over-awe, and perhaps to ſeize the malcontents of that capital, the burghers, under the conduct and direction of the duke of Guiſe, or his dependants, raiſed barricadoes in the ſtreets as they advanced, firing upon the king's troops, who being obliged to abandon the city in diſgrace, the king thought he was no longer ſafe at the Louvre, and fled to Chartres.

† When Henry, by the advice of his mother and a few counſellors, had reſolved to take off the duke by aſſaſſination, he would have employed for this purpoſe Crillon, colonel of the guards; but that gallant officer rejected the propoſal with diſdain. He told the king he was a gentleman, and not an executioner; but that if his majeſty would allow him to challenge the duke, he would do his endeavour to kill him fairly in ſingle combat. Henry expreſſed no reſentment

having taken the ſacrament with them, and ſolemnly ſworn upon the hoſt to live in friendſhip with them for ever.

The laws are held ſo reſpectable and ſacred, that had Henry III. only kept up the appearance of them, or if, when he had the duke and the cardinal in his power at Blois, he had, as he might have done, coloured his revenge with the forms of juſtice, his reputation and his life might have been ſafe: but the murder of a hero

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at this refuſal, but enjoining Crillon to ſecrecy, made the ſame propoſal to Loignac, captain of the band of Gaſcon gentlemen, and he readily undertook the office. The duke of Guiſe had repeated intimations of ſome deſign againſt his life; but he told his friends he was too far advanced to retreat: he obſerved, that the king and he were like two armies facing each other, the firſt that turned their backs would run the riſk of a defeat. The day that preceded his death, he found at table a note under his napkin, aſſuring him there was a deſign againſt his life. Having peruſed this intimation, he wrote with his pencil on the ſame paper, "They dare not," and threw it under the table. On the twenty-third day of December, in the year 1588, about eight o'clock in the morning, Revol, the ſecretary of ſtate, told the duke of Guiſe that the king wanted to ſpeak with him in his cloſet. He forthwith paſſed through the antichamber, and having up the hangings in order to enter the cloſet, was ſuddenly ſtabbed in ſix different places, by thoſe individuals of the Gaſcon guard whom Loignac had ſelected for the purpoſe. He exclaimed, "Lord have mercy upon me!" and falling dead on the floor, the king, who had with his own hands preſented the daggers to the aſſaſſins, came out of the cloſet, and ordered the body to be covered with a carpet, then retired to wait till the reſt of his orders ſhould be executed. The cardinal de Guiſe with the archbiſhop of Lyons being in the antichamber, and hearing the duke's expiring groan, ran out in great conſternation; but their eſcape was prevented by the Scottiſh guard: they were confined to different apartments, and next day the cardinal was murdered by the king's order.

and

and a prieſt made him execrable in the eyes of all the Catholics, without adding any thing to his power.

And here I think I am bound to rectify an error which is found in many of our books, eſpecially in the State of France, a work which is frequently reprinted, and in which it is ſaid that the duke of Guiſe was aſſaſſinated by the gentlemen in ordinary of the king's bedchamber; the orator Maimbourg alſo, in his Hiſtory of the League, pretends, that Loignac, the principal of the murderers, was firſt gentleman of the bed-chamber. All this is manifeſtly falſe. The regiſters of the chamber of accounts which eſcaped the fire, and which I have conſulted, prove, that the marſhal de Retz and the count de Villequier were taken from the number of gentlemen in ordinary, to be made firſt gentlemen of the bedchamber, a new poſt created by Henry II. for the marſhal de St. André. Theſe ſame regiſters likewiſe give the names of the gentlemen in ordinary of the bed-chamber, who were then of ſome of the principal families of the kingdom. They had ſucceeded in the reign of Francis I. to the place of chamberlains, and theſe latter to that of knights of the houſehold. The gentlemen called the Forty-five, who aſſaſſinated the duke of Guiſe, were a new body formed by the duke of Epernon, and payed by the royal treaſury on this duke's notes: and none of their names are found among the gentlemen of the bed-chamber.

Loignac, St. Capautet, Alfrenas, Herbelade, and their accomplices, were poor Gaſcon gentlemen, whom Epernon had provided for the

king on this occaſion. They were handy people, ſerviceable people, as they were called at that time. Every prince and great nobleman entertained one or more of theſe about him in thoſe troubleſome times. They were men of this ſtamp whom the Guiſes had employed to aſſaſſinate St. Megrin, one of Henry III.'s favourites. Theſe practices were very different from the noble folly of ancient chivalry, and thoſe times of generous barbariſm, when all diſputes were decided within liſts by equal arms.

So ſtrong is the force of opinion among men, that thoſe murderers, who made no ſcruple of aſſaſſinating the duke of Guiſe in the moſt cowardly manner, refuſed to dip their hands in the blood of the cardinal his brother; and the contrivers of this bloody tragedy were obliged to employ four ſoldiers of the regiment of guards, who knocked him on the head with their halberds. Two days paſſed between the murder of the two brothers; this is an irrefragable proof that the king had time enough before him to have made ſome ſhew of juſtice, if ever ſo ſudden.

Henry III. was not only wanting in the artifice neceſſary on this occaſion, but he was likewiſe wanting to himſelf in not haſtening immediately to Paris with his army. And though he told Catherine of Medicis, his mother, that he had taken all the neceſſary meaſures, he had only provided for his revenge, and not for the means of reigning. He remained at Blois uſeleſsly employed in examining into the journals of the eſtates, while the cities of Paris, Orleans, Rouen, Dijon, Lyons, and Toulouſe, re-

revolted at one and the ſame time as it were by agreement. He was now looked upon as no other than an aſſaſſin, and a perjured wretch. The pope excommunicated him; and this excommunication, which at any other time would have been held in contempt, became now of the moſt dreadful conſequence, as being joined to the public outcry for juſtice, and ſeeming to unite both God and man againſt him. Seventy doctors of the Sorbonne in aſſembly declared him to have forfeited his crown, and his ſubjects releaſed from their oath of allegiance. The clergy refuſed abſolution to ſuch of their penitents as continued to own him for king. The cabal of ſixteen commit to the Baſtile thoſe members of parliament who are moſt devoted to his intereſt. The duke of Guiſe's widow appears to demand juſtice for the murder of her huſband and brother-in-law; and the parliament at the requeſt of the procurator-general, appoints two of its counſellors, Courtin and Michon, to draw up an indictment againſt "Henry of Valois, heretofore king of France and Poland." 1589

This monarch had acted ſo blindly through the whole of this affair, that he had no army ready: he therefore ſent Sancy to negociate a ſupply of men from the Swiſs, and had the meanneſs to write a letter to the duke of Mayenne, who was now at the head of the league, beſeeching him to forget the murder of his brother. He likewiſe employed the pope's nuncio to ſpeak to him; but Mayenne's anſwer was, "I never will forgive this miſcreant." The letters which mention this negociation are ſtill preſerved at Rome.

At length he is obliged to have recourſe to that very Henry of Navarre, who was at once his conqueror and his lawful ſucceſſor, and whom he ought from the firſt moment of the forming of the league to have taken for his ſupport, not only as a perſon who was the moſt intereſted in the maintenance of the royal dignity, but as a prince whoſe generoſity he was acquainted with, who had a ſoul far ſuperior to the reſt of his cotemporaries, and who would never have made an ill uſe of his preſumptive right to the crown.

By the aſſiſtance of Navarre and the efforts of the reſt of his party, he at length ſaw himſelf at the head of an army. The two kings now appear before the gates of Paris. It would be needleſs to recount how that city was delivered by the murder of Henry III. I ſhall only obſerve with the preſident de Thou, that when the Dominican friar, James Clement *, a fanatic prieſt, who had been encouraged to this

* This deſperate fanatic obtained admittance to the king at St. Cloud, by means of a letter with which he ſaid he was charged by the preſident de Harlay, one of his majeſty's friends at Paris. While Henry peruſed this letter, Clement pulled a knife out of his ſleeve, and ſtabbing his ſovereign in the belly, left it ſticking in the wound. The king drew it forth with his own hand, and wounded the aſſaſſin in the eye; but he was immediately diſpatched by the guards, who hearing the noiſe ran into the apartment, and the body was thrown out at the window. Henry expired next morning, after having declared the king of Navarre his ſucceſſor. The council of ſixteen, who governed Paris, in all probability knew of Clement's deſign; for that very morning, they impriſoned a great number of perſons who were known to have relations in the king's army, that they might ſerve as hoſtages to ſave the life of the aſſaſſin, in caſe he ſhould have been taken alive.

action

action by his prior Bourgoin and the reſt of his convent, full of the ſpirit of the leaghe, and ſanctified, as he thought, by the ſacrament which he had taken, came to demand an audience of the king in order to aſſaſſinate him. Henry felt a ſecret pleaſure in ſeeing him approach, and declared that his heart danced within him every time he ſaw a monk. I ſhall paſs over the detail of what paſſed at Paris and Rome on this occaſion; with what zeal the inhabitants of the firſt of theſe cities placed the picture of the regicide on the altars, how the guns were fired at Rome, and the monk's elogium publicly pronounced. But it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that in the general opinion of the people, this wretch paſſed for a ſaint and a martyr, who had delivered the people of God from a perſecuting tyrant, on whom they beſtowed no other appellation than that of Herod. This man had devoted himſelf to certain death: his ſuperiors, and all thoſe whom he had conſulted, had commanded him in God's name to do this holy deed. His mind was in a ſtate of invincible ignorance, and he had an inward perſuaſion that he was going to offer himſelf a ſacrifice for God, the church, and his country; in ſhort, in the opinion of the divines, he was haſtening to eternal happineſs, and the king he murdered was eternally damned. This had been the opinion of ſome Calviniſtical divines concerning Poltrot de Meré, and what the catholics ſaid of the murder of the prince of Orange; and I remark the ſpirit of the times more than the facts, which are ſufficiently known.

CHAP. CXLIV.

OF HENRY IV.

IN reading the history of Henry IV. by father Daniel, we are surprised at not finding him the great man. His character is but half drawn; there are none of those sayings which were the lively images of his soul, nor that speech which he made in the assembly of the principal citizens of Rouen, and which is worthy of eternal memory; nor yet any notice taken of the great good he did to his country. In short, father Daniel's reign of Henry IV. consists only of a dry narrative of military operations, long speeches in parliament in favour of the Jesuits, and the life of father Cotton.

Bayle, who is as erroneous and superficial, when he treats of historical and worldly matters, as he is learned and solid in his logical writings, begins his article of Henry IV. by saying, that "Had he been made an eunuch while he was young, he might have eclipsed the glory of Alexander and Cæsar." This is one of those things which he ought to have struck out of his dictionary; besides, his logic fails him in this ridiculous supposition, for Cæsar was much more addicted to debaucheries than Henry IV. was to women, and we can see no reason why Henry should have surpassed Alexander. In fine, it is to be wished, for the example of kings, and the satisfaction of the people, that they would consult some better historian than Daniel, such as Mezeray's great history, Perefixe,

reſize, and the duke of Sully, for what relates to the reign of this excellent prince.

Let us, for our private uſe, take a ſummary view of the life of this glorious prince, a life which was, alas! of too ſhort a date. He was from his infancy brought up in the midſt of troubles and misfortunes. He was preſent at the battle of Moncontour*, when he was but fourteen years old. He was recalled to Paris by Charles IX. and married to that king's ſiſter only to ſee his friends murdered around him, to run the hazard of his own life, and to be detained near three years a priſoner of ſtate. He eſcaped from his confinement only to undergo all the fatigues and viciſſitudes of war; he was frequently in want of the common neceſſaries of life, a continual ſtranger to reſt, expoſing his perſon like the meaneſt ſoldier, performing actions which are hardly credible, but by being ſo often repeated; witneſs that at the ſiege of Cahors in 1599, when he was five days ſucceſſively under arms, and fighting from ſtreet to ſtreet, without taking a moment's reſt. The victory of Coutras was principally owing to his courage, and his humanity after the victory was ſuch as gained him every heart.

By the murder of Henry III. he became king of France; but religion ſerved as a pretext for one half of the chiefs of his army to deſert him, and for the leaguers to refuſe to ac-

* Moncontour fought on the third day of October, in the year 1569, between the army of Charles IX. commanded by his brother the duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. and the Hugueno's, under the admiral de Coligni; which laſt were defeated with great ſlaughter.

knowledge him. They ſet up a phantom of a king in oppoſition to him, Vendôme cardinal of Bourbon; and the Spaniſh monarch, Philip II. who had gotten the maſtery of the league by his money, already reckoned France as one of his provinces. The duke of Savoy, Philip's ſon-in-law, invades Provence and Dauphiné. The parliament of Languedoc forbid any one to acknowledge him as king under pain of death, and declare him "Incapable of poſſeſſing the crown of France, agreeable to the bull of our holy father the pope."

Henry IV. had only the juſtice of his cauſe, his perſonal courage, and a few friends on his ſide. He never was in a condition to keep an army on foot for any conſiderable time; and what ſort of an army was his! It hardly ever amounted to twelve thouſand men complete; a leſs number than a detachment now-a-days. His ſervants took their turns to follow him into the field, and left him again after a few months ſervice. The Swiſs troops, and a few companies of ſpearmen, which he could with difficulty keep in pay, formed the ſtanding force of his army. He was obliged to run inceſſantly from town to town, fighting and negociating; and there is hardly a province in France where he did not perform ſome great exploits, at the head of an handful of men.

At firſt he fought the battle of Arques near Dieppe, with about five thouſand men againſt the duke of Mayenne's army, which was twenty-five thouſand ſtrong; after that he carried the ſuburbs of Paris, and only wanted more men to make himſelf maſter of the city itſelf. He was then obliged to retreat, and to ſtorm ſe[illegible] fortified

fortified villages in order to open a communication with thoſe towns which were in his intereſt.

While he is thus continually expoſed to fatigues and dangers, cardinal Cajetanus arrives as legate from Rome, and in the pontiff's name quietly gives laws to the city of Paris. The Sorbonne conſtantly declare againſt his ſovereignty, and the league reigns in the name of the cardinal of Vendôme, to whom they gave the title of Charles X. and coin money in his name, while Henry detains him priſoner at Tours.

The monks and prieſts ſtir up the people, and the Jeſuits run from Paris to Rome and Spain, to excite factions againſt him. Father Matthew, who was called the courier of the league, labours inceſſantly to raiſe bulls and armies to diſtreſs him. The king of Spain ſends one thouſand five hundred ſpearmen, fully accoutred, making in all about four thouſand horſemen, and three thouſand of the old Walloon infantry, under the command of count Egmont, ſon to that Egmont whom this king had beheaded. Then Henry rallies the few forces he could get together, and at length finds himſelf at the head of no more than ten thouſand men. With this little army he fights the famous battle of Ivry *, againſt the leaguers commanded by the duke of Mayenne, and the

* Henry had actually inveſted Dreux, when, being informed that the duke de Mayenne was on his march to relieve it, he called a council of war, and told them; "Gentlemen, we muſt raiſe the ſiege; but it will be no diſhonourable ſtep, as we do it in order to give battle."

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Spaniards, vaſtly ſuperior in numbers, artillery, and all neceſſaries for a large army. He gains this battle as he had gained that of Coutras, by throwing himſelf into the thickeſt ranks of the enemy, and confronting a foreſt of ſpears. His words will be for ever remembered by poſterity: "If you loſe your colours, repair to where you ſee my white plume of feathers; you will always find it in the road to honour and glory." "Spare the lives of Frenchmen," cried he, when the victors were dealing death among the vanquiſhed.

This victory was not like that of Coutras, where he had barely the ſuperiority. He does not loſe an inſtant in taking advantage of his good fortune. His army follows him with alacrity, and is reinforced on its march. But after all, he is able to muſter no more than fifteen thouſand men; and with this handful of troops he lays ſiege to Paris, in which there were at that time near two hundred and twenty thouſand inhabitants. It is paſt doubt that he would have reduced the city by famine, had he not, by an exceſs of compaſſion, permitted his own troops to relieve the beſieged. His generals in vain iſſued orders that no one, under pain of death, ſhould preſume to furniſh the beſieged with proviſions; the very ſoldiers of his army ſold them to them. One day that they were going to make an example of two peaſants who had been detected in carrying two waggon-loads of bread to one of the poſterns of the city, Henry chanced to meet them on the way to execution, as he was viſiting the quarters: they immediately fell on their knees, and pleaded in excuſe, that they had no other way of getting

ting their livelihood: "Go your ways in peace," ſaid the king, giving them at the ſame time all the money he had about him; "The Gaſcon is poor; had he more, he would give it you." A generous mind cannot refuſe a few tears of admiration and tenderneſs on reading ſuch paſſages.

While he was thus carrying on the ſiege, the prieſts were making continual proceſſions clad in armour, with a muſket in one hand and a crucifix in the other. The parliament, the ſupreme courts, and the citizens, took an oath on the Goſpel, in preſence of the legate and the Spaniſh ambaſſador, not to receive him for their king. But at length proviſions began to fail, and the city ſuffered the moſt dreadful extremes of famine.

Philip ſends the duke of Parma to the relief of Paris with a powerful army. Henry haſtens to give him battle. Every one knows the letter which he wrote to Gabrielle d'Eſtrées, (whoſe name has been rendered ſo famous thro' him,) from the field where he expected to come to an engagement: "If I die, ſays he, my laſt thoughts ſhall be on my God, and the laſt but thoſe on you." The duke of Parma did not accept the battle he offered him; he came only to relieve the city, and make the league more dependant on the king of Spain. To continue the ſiege with ſo few troops, in the face of ſo powerful an enemy, was impoſſible. Here then his ſucceſſes were again retarded, and his former victories rendered fruitleſs. However, he prevents the duke of Parma from making any conqueſts; and, by keeping cloſe to him with his little army as far as the frontiers of Picardy,

Picardy, he obliges him to return back into Flanders.

No ſooner is he delivered from this enemy, than pope Gregory XIV. (Sfondrati) makes uſe of the treaſures amaſſed by his predeceſſor Sixtus V. to hire troops to ſend to the aſſiſtance of the league. The king had ſtill the joint forces of Spain, Rome, and France, to encounter; for the duke of Parma, when he retreated, had left the duke of Mayenne behind him with an army of eight thouſand men. One of the pope's nephews enters France with an army of Italians and letters of admonition, and joins the duke of Savoy in Dauphiny. Lefdiguieres, the ſame who was afterwards the laſt conſtable of France, and the laſt of the powerful French nobles, beat the duke of Savoy's and the pope's armies. He, like Henry IV. made war with generals and ſoldiers who ſerved only once, and yet he defeated theſe regular troops. Every one carried arms at that time in France, the peaſant, the artificer, and the citizen; this ruined the kingdom, but at the ſame time it prevented its falling a prey to its neighbours. The pope's troops diſperſed of themſelves, after having committed ſuch exceſſes as were till then unknown beyond the Alps. The country-people burnt the goats which followed their regiments.

Philip II. from his palace in Madrid continued to feed this flame, by conſtantly ſupplying the duke of Mayenne with a few ſuccours at a time, that he might neither grow too weak nor too powerful, and by ſcattering his money thro' Paris in order to get his daughter, Clara Eugenia, acknowledged queen of France, with

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the prince whom he ſhould chuſe to give her for an huſband. With this view he ſent the duke of Parma again into France, when Henry was beſieging the city of Rouen, as he had done during the ſiege of Paris. He promiſed the league that he would ſend an army of fifty thouſand men into the kingdom, as ſoon as his daughter ſhould be declared queen. Henry quits the ſiege of Rouen, and drives the duke of Parma again out of France.

In the mean time the faction of the ſixteen, who were in Philip's pay, were very near completing that monarch's ſcheme, and the ruin of the kingdom. They had cauſed the firſt preſident of the parliament of Paris, and two of the principal magiſtrates, to be hanged for having oppoſed their contrivances. The duke of Mayenne, who ſaw himſelf on the point of being overpowered by this faction, had cauſed four of them to be hanged in return. In the midſt of theſe diviſions and horrors, the general eſtates were convoked at Paris, under the direction of the pope's legate and the Spaniſh ambaſſador; the legate himſelf ſate as preſident in the chair of ſtate, which was left empty, to denote the place of the king they ſhould elect. The Spaniſh ambaſſador had likewiſe a ſeat in this aſſembly. He harangued againſt the Salique law, and propoſed the infanta for queen. The parliament of Paris preſented a remonſtrance to the duke of Mayenne in favour of this law; but who does not perceive that this remonſtrance had been previouſly concerted between the parliament and the duke? Would not the nomination of the infanta to the crown have deprived

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him of his office? and would not the propoſed marriage of this princeſs with his nephew the duke of Guiſe, have made him the ſubject of a perſon whoſe maſter he was deſirous of remaining?

During the ſitting of this aſſembly, which was as tumultuous and divided as it was irregular, Henry was at the gates of Paris, and threatened to reduce it. He had ſome few friends in the city, and there were ſeveral true citizens, who, wearied with their ſufferings and the yoke of a foreign power, ſighed after peace; but the people were ſtill biaſſed by religion. The dregs of the people in this caſe gave law to the nobles, and the wiſeſt men of the nation; they were blindly led, and fanatic; and Henry was not in a condition to imitate the examples of Henry VIII. and queen Elizabeth. It was neceſſary therefore to change religion, which is always diſagreeable to a noble ſoul. The laws of honour, which ever remain the ſame among a civilized people, however other things may alter, always affix a kind of infamy to ſuch a change, dictated by intereſt; but this was ſo great, ſo general a concern, and ſo connected with the good of the kingdom, that the beſt ſervants the king had among the Calviniſts adviſed him to embrace a religion which they themſelves deteſted. "It is neceſſary, ſaid the duke of Sully to him, that you ſhould become a papiſt, and that I ſhould remain a proteſtant." This was all that the league and the Spaniſh faction had to fear; the names of heretic and apoſtate were the principal arms they had againſt Henry, which his converſion would render uſe-

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leſs *. It was neceſſary for him to be inſtructed by the biſhops, for form's ſake; for in fact he knew more of the matter than thoſe who pretended to inſtruct him. His mother had carefully brought him up in the knowledge of both the Old and New Teſtament, with which he was perfectly acquainted; and all his converſations turned upon controverſial points in religion, as well as upon war and love. Quotations from ſcripture, and alluſions to the ſacred writings, formed what we call the *bel eſprit* of thoſe times; and the Bible was ſo familiar to Henry, that at the battle of Coutras, when he made one of the enemy's officers, named Chateau Renard, priſoner with his own hand, he cried out to him in the ſcripture-phraſe, "Yield, Philiſtine."

We may ſufficiently perceive what he himſelf thought of his converſion, by his letter to the fair Gabrielle †, in which he ſays, "To-morrow

* In the year 1592 the king heard maſs at St. Denis, and received abſolution from the archbiſhop of Bourges, in conſequence of which a truce of three months was proclaimed, to the no ſmall mortification of the leaguers; ſome of their preachers declaring from the pulpit, that no credit was to be given to the king's converſion, though publiſhed by an angel from heaven. Their harangues inſtigated one Pierre Barrier, a waterman, to undertake the aſſaſſination of the king; but he was diſcovered by an honeſt friar, one Seraphin Branchi, whom he conſulted about the means of execution. He was apprehended at Meulan, and confeſſing his intention, put to death. The king had a very narrow eſcape from the poignard of this deſperate fanatic; for, having occaſion one day to alight upon the road, he gave this Barrier his horſe to hold, ſuppoſing him to be a peaſant.

† This lady was daughter of Anthony d'Eſtrées, ſeigneur de Cœuvres les Soiſſons, maſter of the artillery, and a man of

morrow is the day that I am to take the adventurous leap. I believe theſe people will make me hate St. Denis as much as you hate ——." It is ſacrificing truth to a falſe delicacy, to pretend, as father Daniel does, that Henry IV. had been a catholic in his heart long before his converſion. His converſion doubtleſs ſecured his eternal welfare, but it added nothing to his right to the crown.

In the conferences which he held, he made himſelf perſonally admired and eſteemed by all who came from Paris to ſee him. One of the deputies, ſurpriſed at the familiarity with which

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of a good character. He endeavoured as much as lay in his power to prevent her amours with Henry, which began in the year 1591; but theſe endeavours were baffled by her own inclination, and the management of her aunt, madame de Sourdis, who aſſiſted the intrigue. Gabrielle is mentioned in hiſtory by the different names of mademoiſelle de Cœuvres from her father's title; madame de Liancourt, or de la Roche Guyon, on account of her marriage with Nicholas D'Amerval, ſeigneur de Liancourt, and de la Roche Guyon; marchioneſs de Monceaux, and dutcheſs of Beaufort, from the titles beſtowed upon her by the king. Tho' ſhe was a weak woman, ſhe had gained an abſolute aſcendancy over the mind of Henry, whom the love of this woman betrayed into a thouſand dangers and indiſcretions, that greatly prejudiced his character; ſhe even aſpired to the dignity of queen, although his queen Margaret was then alive; and he weakly countenanced this ambition. He even ſent monſieur de Sillery to Rome, to ſollicit a divorce; and how far he might have carried his folly in this particular is not eaſily determined, had not death interpoſed and taken her off ſuddenly, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon. By this lady Henry had two ſons and a daughter, namely, Cæſar duke of Vendoſme, Alexander grand prior of France, and Catherine Henrietta, who married Charles de Lorraine.

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his officers behaved towards him, who crouded about him ſo as hardly to leave him room; "You ſee nothing here, ſaid he, they croud much more about me in the day of battle." In ſhort, after having taken the city of Dreux before he had learnt his new catechiſm, having made his abjuration in the church of St. Denis, having been anointed at Chartres, and having taken care to keep up a good correſpondence in Paris, where there was at that time a garriſon of three thouſand Spaniards, beſides Neapolitans and Lanſquenets; he entered that city as its king, with fewer ſoldiers than there were foreigners on the walls to be ſpectators of his entry.

Paris had not beheld nor owned a king for above fifteen years. This revolution was brought about by two perſons only, the marechal of Briſſac, and an honeſt citizen, whoſe name was leſs illuſtrious, though his ſoul was equally noble; this was a ſheriff of Paris, named L'Anglais. Theſe two reſtorers of the public tranquility ſoon got the magiſtrates and the principal citizens to join with them. They had taken their meaſures ſo well, and ſo artfully impoſed upon the legate, cardinal Pellevé, the Spaniſh officers, and the faction of ſixteen, and kept them ſo well within bounds, that Henry IV. entered his capital almoſt without 1594 bloodſhed. He ſent all the foreigners home, though he might have made them priſoners, and pardoned all the leaguers.

Several cities followed the example of Paris: nevertheleſs, Henry was ſtill far from being maſter of the kingdom. Philip II. whoſe deſign had been always to make himſelf neceſſary

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to the league, had hitherto hurt the king but by halves, but now he injured him in more than one province. Deceived in his expectation of reigning over the kingdom of France under his daughter's title, he now thought of nothing but diſmembring it; and it ſeemed very probable that this kingdom would have been reduced to a worſe ſtate than when the Engliſh were in poſſeſſion of one half of it, and particular nobles tyrannized over the other. The duke of Mayenne had Burgundy; the duke of Guiſe, ſon of Balafré, had Rheims, and a part of Champagne; the duke of Mercœur poſſeſſed Britany; and the Spaniards Blavet, which is now Port Louis. Even thoſe who had been chief officers under Henry, aimed at becoming independent: and the Calviniſts, whoſe party he had quitted, fortified themſelves againſt the leaguers, and began to contrive means for reſiſting the royal authority. Henry was forced to recover his kingdom foot by foot, partly by intrigue and partly by force; and notwithſtanding his being maſter of Paris, his authority was for ſome time ſo weak, that pope Clement VIII. continued to refuſe him abſolution, of which he would not have ſtood in need in leſs troubleſome times. None of the religious orders prayed for him in their convents; and in ſhort the Roman Catholic part of the populace were ſo [illegible] with the fury of fanaticiſm, [illegible] fed without ſome [illegible] continually [illegible] another [illegible] negoci[illegible] en[illegible]

ſatisfy the claims of the grandees? and yet the duke of Sully's Memoirs prove it beyond contradiction; and that he punctually fulfilled all theſe pecuniary engagements when he came to the abſolute and quiet poſſeſſion of his kingdom, and might have refuſed to pay the price of rebellion. The duke of Mayenne did not make his peace with him till the year 1596. Henry was ſincerely reconciled to him, and made him, governor of the iſle of France. One day that he had wearied the duke in walking with him, he ſaid, "Couſin, this is the only injury I will do you whilſt I live;" in which he kept his word, as he did with every one.

He at length recovered his kingdom, but in a poor and ſhattered condition, to the full as bad as it had been in the reigns of Philip of Valois, John, and Charles VI. Several of the high roads were over-run with briars, and new paths ſtruck out acroſs the countries, which lay neglected and uncultivated. Paris, which at preſent contains upwards of ſeven hundred thouſand inhabitants *, had not then above one hundred and eighty thouſand †. The public finances, which had been diſſipated under the reign of Henry III. were now only the remains of the people openly trafficked for

* ...s muſt be more populous than Lon... beſt and lateſt calculations, contains ...houſand inhabitants.

† ...that Paris was beſieged by Henry IV. ...wo hundred and twenty thouſand ...3 there were but one hundred and

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between the officers of the treaſury and the king's farmers.

The queen of England, the grand duke of Florence, the German princes, and the Dutch, had lent him money to ſupport himſelf againſt the league and the courts of Rome and Spain. To pay theſe juſt debts, the general receipts and the demeſnes were made over to the collectors of theſe foreign powers, who had the management of all the revenues of the ſtate in the heart of the kingdom. Several chiefs of the league who had ſold the king that fidelity they owed to him, had likewiſe receivers of the public revenues in their name, and ſhared amongſt them this part of the royal prerogative. Thoſe who farmed theſe alienated dues, exacted three, nay four times their value from the people, and what remained to the king were managed in the ſame manner; and at length when the general depredation obliged Henry to commit the whole management of the revenues into the hands of the duke of Sully; that miniſter, whoſe knowledge was equal to his integrity, found in 1596, that above one hundred and fifty millions were raiſed upon the people, to bring about thirty into the king's treaſury.

Had Henry IV. been only the braveſt, moſt merciful, moſt upright, and moſt honeſt man of his age, his kingdom muſt have been infallibly ruined. It required a prince who knew equally well how to make war and peace, who was acquainted with all the wounds of his kingdom, and the remedies to be applied to them; who was capable of attending to the moſt important and moſt trivial affairs, of reforming

forming whatever was amiſs, and of doing every thing that could be done; all theſe qualifications met in Henry IV. To the policy of Charles the Wiſe, he added the openneſs of Francis I. and the goodneſs of Lewis XII.

To provide for all theſe preſſing wants, and to carry on ſo many different negociations and wars, Henry found it neceſſary to call an aſſembly of the chief men of the kingdom at Rouen; this was a kind of general eſtates. The ſpeech he made to this aſſembly is ſtill freſh in the memory of every good citizen, who is the leaſt acquainted with the hiſtory of his own country. It was as follows:

"Already, by the bleſſing of heaven, the advice of my faithful ſervants, and the ſwords of my brave nobles, among whom I alſo include my princes, as the quality of gentleman is our faireſt title, I have extricated this kingdom from ſervitude and ruin. I am now deſirous to reſtore it to its antient ſplendor; I invite you therefore to partake in this ſecond glory, in like manner as you had a ſhare in the firſt. I have not called you together, as my predeceſſors have done, to oblige you to approve blindly of my will, but to receive your advice, to confide in it, to follow it, and to put myſelf entirely into your hands. Such an intention has ſeldom been found in kings, in conquerors, or in grey-beards; but the love I bear to all my ſubjects, makes every thing poſſible and honourable to me." This eloquence, which flowed from the heart of an hero, far tranſcends all the boaſted harangues of antiquity.

In the midſt of all theſe toils and dangers, the Spaniards ſurpriſed the city of Amiens, which

the inhabitants attempted to defend themſelves. This fatal privilege, which belonged to them, and which they made ſo bad an uſe of, ſerved only to ſubject their city to plunder, to expoſe all Picardy, and to give new courage to thoſe who attempted to diſmember the kingdom. Henry at the time of this freſh misfortune was in want of money, and in an ill ſtate of health; nevertheleſs he aſſembles a few troops, marches to the borders of Picardy, flies back again to Paris, and writes a letter with his own hand to the parliaments and principal communities, "For neceſſaries to feed thoſe who defended the ſtate;" theſe are his own words. He goes in perſon to the parliament of Paris; "Give me but an army, ſays he, and I will joyfully lay down my life to defend you, and ſuccour the kingdom." He propoſed the creation of new poſts, in order to raiſe the ſpeedy ſupplies that were wanting; but the parliament, looking upon theſe reſources as an additional calamity to the nation, refuſed to verify the edicts, and the king was obliged to iſſue ſeveral mandatory letters before he could procure means to laviſh his blood at the head of his nobility.

At length by loans, and the indefatigable pains and oeconomy of Roni duke of Sully, that worthy ſervant of ſo illuſtrious a maſter, he found means to aſſemble a fine army, which was the only one for upwards of thirty years that had gone to the field provided with all neceſſaries, and the firſt that had a regular hoſpital, in which the ſick and wounded were taken care of, in a manner to which they had hitherto been ſtrangers. Before that every company had taken care of its wounded men as well as it

could, and as many had been loſt through the want of proper care as by the fortune of arms.

He now retook Amiens, in ſight of the archduke Albert, and obliged him to retire. From thence he haſtened to ſuppreſs the troubles in other parts of the kingdom, till at length he ſaw himſelf maſter of all France. The pope, who had refuſed him abſolution when he was but weakly eſtabliſhed, granted it to him as ſoon as he ſaw him victorious. Nothing now remained but to make peace with Spain, which was concluded at Vervins; and this was the firſt advantageous treaty that France had made ſince the time of Philip Auguſtus.

He now employed all his endeavours to poliſh and aggrandize the kingdom he had conquered. He diſbanded the uſeleſs troops, he ſubſtituted order and decorum in the public revenues, in the room of the hateful rapine which had hitherto prevailed in them. He paid off the debts of the crown by degrees, and without ſtripping the people. The peaſants to this day repeat a ſaying of his, which, though trifling in itſelf, ſhews a fatherly tenderneſs, that he wiſhed "they had a chicken in the pot every Sunday." He made an improvement in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and, what was ſtill more difficult, he brought the two religions to live peaceably with each other, at leaſt in appearance. Commerce and the arts were held in honour. The manufactories for gold and ſilver ſtuffs, which had been forbidden by a ſumptuary edict, in the beginning of a troubleſome and neceſſitous reign, were now revived with double luſtre, and enriched the city of Lyons and all France. He alſo eſtabliſhed ma-

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nufactories for raiſed work in tapeſtry, both of woollen and ſilk, interwoven with gold. And they began to make ſmall plate glaſſes, after the manner of thoſe at Venice. It was to him alone that the nation was indebted for its ſilk-worms, and the planting of mulberry-trees, againſt the opinion of the great Sully, who excelled in his faithful and expert management of the finances, but was no friend to new inventions. Henry likewiſe cauſed the canal of Briare to be dug, by which the river Seine is joined to the Loire. He beautified and enlarged the city of Paris, made the place royal, or king's ſquare, and repaired all the bridges. The ſuburb of St. Germain did not at that time join to the city, and was not paved; the king undertook to do this, and built that beautiful and noble bridge where the people ſtill behold his ſtatue with an affectionate remembrance. He enlarged, and in a manner rebuilt the royal palaces of St. Germain, Monceaux, Fontainebleau, and the Louvre, particularly the latter; and appointed apartments in the long gallery of the Louvre, which he built himſelf, for artiſts in all branches, whom he not only encouraged by his protection, but frequently rewarded. Laſtly, he was the real founder of the royal library.

When don Pedro of Toledo was ſent as ambaſſador to Henry by Philip III. he hardly knew that city again, which he had formerly ſeen in ſo unhappy and languiſhing a condition. "The reaſon is, ſaid Henry to him, that at that time the maſter of the family was abſent, but now that he is at home to take care of his children, they thrive and do well."

The

The gaieties and diverſions which had been introduced at court by Catherine of Medicis, in the midſt of the troubles, were under Henry IV. the ornaments of a peaceful and happy reign.

By rendering his own kingdom thus flouriſhing, he became the arbiter of others. The popes never imagined, in the time of the league, that the Gaſcon would one day become the pacificator of Italy, and a mediator between them and the ſtate of Venice, and yet Paul V. was very glad to apply to him for his aſſiſtance to extricate him from the unadviſed ſtep he had taken in excommunicating the doge and ſenate of Venice, and laying the whole republic under an interdict, on account of certain lawful rights which the ſenate maintained with its accuſtomed vigour. Henry was made arbiter in this diſpute; and he whom the popes had excommunicated, now obliged them to take off the excommunication from Venice*.

He

* Father Daniel relates a particular circumſtance which appears very extraordinary, and which is related by no other author. He ſays, that Henry IV. after having reconciled the pope and the republic of Venice, ſpoilt the agreement himſelf, by communicating to the pope's nuncio at Paris, an intercepted letter of a miniſter of Geneva, in which this miniſter boaſts that the doge of Venice, and ſeveral of the ſenators, were proteſtants in their hearts, and only waited for a favourable opportunity of declaring themſelves; that father Fulgentio, of the order of the Servites, the companion and friend of the famous Sarpi, ſo well known by the name of Fra Paolo, "laboured with much ſucceſs in this vineyard." He adds, that Henry IV. ordered his ambaſſador to ſhew this letter to the

He protected the infant-republic of Holland, ſupplied it with money from his private purſe, and contributed not a littte in making the court of Spain acknowledge it a free and independent ſtate.

His reputation was now eſtabliſhed both at home and abroad, and he was eſteemed the greateſt man of his age. The emperor Ro-

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ſenate, only ſtriking out the doge's name. But after Daniel has related the ſubſtance of this letter, in which Fra Paolo's name is not to be found, yet he ſays that this Fra Paolo was mentioned and accuſed in the copy of the letter ſhewn to the ſenate. He does not name the miniſter who wrote this pretended intercepted letter. It is likewiſe to be obſerved that the Jeſuits are concerned in this letter, who had been baniſhed from the republic of Venice. In ſhort, father Daniel makes uſe of this ſtory, which he aſcribes to Henry IV. as a proof of that prince's zeal for the catholic religion. It would have been an odd zeal in Henry to throw diſſention into the midſt of the Venetian ſenate, who were his beſt allies, and to mingle the deſpicable perſonage of an incendiary with the glorious one of a peace-maker. It is very poſſible that there might be a real or fictitious letter from a Genevan miniſter, and that this letter produced ſome little intrigues quite foreign to the great objects of hiſtory; but it is not in the leaſt probable that Henry IV. ſhould have deſcended to the meanneſs which Daniel pretends to honour him for; adding, "That whoſoever has connections with heretics, is either of their religion, or of no religion at all." This odious reflection is even againſt Henry IV. who had the moſt connections with the reformed of any man of his time. It is to be wiſhed that father Daniel had entered more minutely into the adminiſtration of Henry IV. and the duke of Sully, rather than have deſcended to all theſe trifling circumſtances, which ſhew more partiality than equity, and unfortunately diſcover the author to be more of a Jeſuit than a citizen. The count of Boulainvilliers is much in the right when he ſays, that it is almoſt impoſſible that a Jeſuit ſhould ever write a good hiſtory of France.

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dolph was only famous among philoſophers and chymiſts. Philip II. had never fought a battle, and was after all only an indefatigable, gloomy, and diſſembling tyrant; and his prudence was by no means to be compared with the courage and openneſs of Henry IV. who with all his vivacity was as deep a politician as himſelf. Elizabeth had acquired a great reputation; but not having had the ſame difficulties to ſurmount, ſhe could not challenge the ſame glory. That which ſhe really deſerved was dimmed by the double dealings with which ſhe was accuſed, and ſtained by the blood of Mary queen of Scots, which could never be waſhed away. Sixtus V. had raiſed himſelf a name by the obeliſks which he had cauſed to be raiſed, and the noble monuments with which he beautified Rome. But excluſive of this merit, which is far from being of the firſt rank, he would never have been known to the world otherwiſe than for having obtained the pontificate by fifteen years of continual falſity, and a ſeverity which even bordered upon cruelty.

Thoſe who ſtill reproach Henry ſo bitterly on account of his amours, do not reflect that his weakneſſes were thoſe of the beſt of men, and that they never prevented him from attending to the good government of his kingdom. This he gave ſufficient proofs of when he made preparations for acting as the arbiter of Europe, in the affair relating to the ſucceſſion of Juliers. It is a ridiculous calumny in le Vaſſor, and ſome other compilers, to aſſert that Henry engaged in this war only on account of the young princeſs of Condé: we ſhould rather believe the duke of Sully, who candidly owns the

weakneſſes of this monarch, and at the ſame time proves that the king's great deſigns had not the leaſt connection with any love affair. It certainly was not on the princeſs of Conde's account that Henry made the treaties of Quieraſque, ſecured all the Italian powers, and the proteſtant princes of Germany in his intereſt, and propoſed to put the finiſhing hand to his glory, by holding the balance of Europe.

He was ready to march into Germany at the head of forty thouſand men. He had forty millions in reſerve, immenſe preparations, ſure alliances, ſkilful generals formed under himſelf; the proteſtant princes of Germany, and the new republic of the Netherlands ready to ſecond him; every thing ſeemed to promiſe certain ſucceſs. The pretended diviſion of Europe into fifteen principalities is known to be an idle chimera that never entered his head*. If he had

* If we may believe the duke de Sully, it certainly entered his head, and was the object of his perpetual meditation. He imagined that the ſtates of Europe might be united into a kind of chriſtian common-wealth, the peace of which might be maintained by eſtabliſhing a ſenate by which all differences ſhould be determined; and he conceived that ſuch a confederacy might eaſily overturn the Ottoman power. The number of the ſtates to be thus united was fifteen, namely, the papacy, the empire of Germany, France, Spain, Hungary, Great Britain, Bohemia, Lombardy, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, the republic of Venice, the States General, the Swiſs cantons, and the Italian commonwealth, to conſiſt of Florence Genoa, Lucca, Modena, Parma, Mantua, and Monaco. In order to reduce theſe ſtates to a ſort of political equality, he propoſed that the empire ſhould be given to the duke of Bavaria; Naples, to the pope; Sicily, to the Venetians; Milan, to the duke of Savoy, who ſhould become king of Lombardy; the Auſtrian Low Countries, to

had ever entered upon a negociation relating to ſo extraordinary a deſign, we ſhould have found ſome traces of it either in England, in Veniſe, or in Holland, with whom it is ſuppoſed that Henry concerted matters for this revolution; but there is no ſuch thing, and this project is neither true nor likely: but by his alliances, his arms, and his oeconomy, he was on the point of altering the ſyſtem, and of rendering himſelf the arbiter of Europe. In a word, he compleated the career of his glory.

Were we to give this faithful deſcription of Henry IV. to a ſtranger of good underſtanding, who had never heard him ſpoken of before, and were to conclude with telling him, that this is the man who was aſſaſſinated in the midſt of his people, and whoſe life had been ſeveral times attempted, and that by men to whom he had never done the leaſt injury, he would not believe it.

It is a very deplorable thing, that the ſame religion which enjoins the forgiveneſs of injuries, ſhould have occaſioned ſo many murders to be committed, and this only in conſequence of the maxim, that all who think differently from us are in a ſtate of reprobation, and that we are bound to hold ſuch in abhorrence.

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to the Dutch; Franche Compte, Alſace, and the country of Trent to the Swiſs. After all, this was a viſionary ſcheme, which could not have been executed without involving all Europe in war and confuſion: for how well ſoever it might have been reliſhed by thoſe ſtates who were to be gainers by it, it muſt have been obſtinately oppoſed by all the powers that were to be diſmembred, eſpecially the houſe of Auſtria, which Henry without all doubt intended to cruſh.

It is ſtill more ſtrange, that the catholics did not conſpire againſt the life of this excellent king till after he became a catholic. The firſt who made an attempt upon his life at the very time that he was making his abjuration at St. Dennis, was a wretch from the dregs of the people named Peter Barriere. He had ſome ſcruples when the king had made his abjuration; but was confirmed in his deſign by a few of the moſt furious of the leaguers, namely, Aubri, curate of St. Andrew des Arts, a capuchin friar, a regular prieſt, and Varade rector of the Jeſuits college. The famous Stephen Paquier, advocate general to the chamber of accounts, declares that he was informed from the mouth of this Barriere himſelf, that he had been encouraged to this action by Varade. This accuſation receives an additional degree of probability from the flight of Varade and Aubri, who took refuge at the cardinal legate's, and accompanied him when he returned to Rome, at the time that Henry IV entered Paris. And what renders this probability ſtill more ſtrong is, that Varade and Aubri were afterwards quartered in effigies by an edict of the parliament of Paris, as we find related in the journal of Henry IV. Father Daniel uſes unpardonable endeavours to diſculpate the jeſuit Varade; whereas, the curates take no pains to juſtify the unwarrantable violence of the curates of thoſe times. The Sorbonne acknowledges the deteſtable decrees it iſſued; the Dominicans ſtill agree that their brother Clement aſſaſſinated Henry III. and that he was inſtigated to this murder by the prior Burgoin. Truth is ſuperior to every conſideration and regard, and it

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is the voice of truth that no churchman of the preſent time is obliged to anſwer for, or bluſh at the bloody maxims and barbarous ſuperſtition of their predeceſſors, ſince there is not one of them who does not hold them in abhorrence: it only preſerves the remembrance of theſe crimes, to the end that they may never be imitated.

So univerſal was the ſpirit of fanaticiſm at that time, that a weak Carthuſian friar, named Owen, was perſuaded that he ſhould gain a quicker admittance into heaven by murdering Henry IV. This unhappy wretch was ſhut up in a mad houſe by his ſuperiors. In the beginning of the year 1599, two Jacobine friars of Flanders, the one named Arger, and the other Ridicovi, originally of Italy, reſolved to revive the action of their brother James Clement: the plot was diſcovered, and their lives paid the forfeit of a crime they did not commit. Their puniſhment did not deter a capuchin friar of Milan, who came to Paris with the ſame deſign, and was hanged like them.

The attempt made by John Chatel is the ſtrongeſt proof we can have of the mad ſpirit which reigned at that time: born of an honeſt family, of rich parents, who brought him up well, young, and void of experience in the world, not having quite attained his nineteenth year, it was impoſſible that he ſhould have formed this deſperate reſolution of himſelf. We know that he wounded the king with a knife in the Louvre, but ſtruck him only on the mouth, becauſe this good prince, who had a cuſtom of embracing all his ſervants whenever they came to pay their court to him after a long abſence,

was at that time ſtooping to embrace Montigni *.

He perſiſted at his firſt examination, "That he had done a meritorious action, and that the king not having yet received abſolution from the pope, he might kill him with a ſafe conſcience." This alone is ſufficient to prove that he was ſeduced to commit this crime.

He had long been a ſtudent in the Jeſuits college. Amongſt all the dangerous ſuperſtitions of thoſe times, there was one very well calculated to delude minds, this was the meditating chamber, in which a young man was ſhut up: the walls were painted with figures of devils, torments, and flames, and lighted with a dim taper: weak and ſuſceptible imaginations have frequently been ſtruck with theſe horrors even to madneſs; and it was with this kind of madneſs that the unhappy wretch we have mentioned was ſeized, and thought that he ſhould redeem his ſoul from hell by aſſaſſinating his ſovereign.

It is beyond doubt that the judges would have been wanting in their duty had they neglected to examine the Jeſuits papers, eſpecially after John Chatel had owned that he had often heard it ſaid among theſe monks, that it was lawful to kill the king.

* The blow was ſtruck with ſuch a force as to beat out one of the king's teeth, though it was certainly intended for his throat. The count de Soiſſons, who ſtood by the king, perceiving a young man change colour, and endeavour to eſcape, laid hold of him, ſaying, "Friend, either you or I have wounded the king." He was the ſon of Peter Chaſtell, a rich draper, a perſon of very weak intellects, driven to a kind of religious deſpair.

They found among the papers of the profeſſor Guignard, theſe words written with his own hand, "That neither Henry III. Henry IV. queen Elizabeth, the king of Sweden, nor the elector of Saxony, were real kings; that Henry III. was a Sardanapalus; the Gaſcon a fox; Elizabeth, a ſhe-wolf; the king of Sweden, a griffin; and the elector of Saxony, a hog." This was called eloquence. "James Clement, adds this writer, did an heroic action, and was inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt. If war can be made upon the Gaſcon, make war upon him, if not, let him be aſſaſſinated."

It is very ſtrange that Guignard had not burnt this writing the moment that he heard of Chatel's attempt. They apprehended his perſon, and that of Gueret, profeſſor of an abſurd ſcience they called philoſophy, and of which Chatel had long been a ſtudent. Guignard was hanged, and afterwards burnt; and Gueret having made no confeſſion when put to the torture, was only condemned to be baniſhed the kingdom, together with all the reſt of the Jeſuits.

Prejudice muſt certainly draw a very tight bandage over the eyes of men ſince the Jeſuit Jouvenci, in his hiſtory of the company of Jeſus, compares Guignard and Gueret "To the primitive chriſtians who were perſecuted by Nero." He particularly praiſes Guignard for refuſing to aſk pardon of the king and the court, when he performed the *amende honorable*, with a lighted taper in his hand, with his writings pinned upon his back. He repreſents Guignard as a martyr, who aſks forgiveneſs of God, becauſe after all he might ſtill be a ſinner; but who, not

notwithſtanding the dictates of his conſcience, would never acknowledge that he had offended the king. How could he have offended him more than by declaring in writing that he ought to be murdered, unleſs he had murdered him himſelf? Jouvenci conſiders the arret of the parliament as a moſt iniquitous ſentence. *Meminimus*, ſays he, *& ignoſcimus*, "We remember it, but we forgive it." It is certain that the ſentence was ſevere, but doubtleſs it cannot appear unjuſt, if we conſider the writings of the Jeſuit Guignard, the furious ſallies of another Jeſuit named Hay, the confeſſion of John Chatel, the writings of Toletus, Bellarmin, Mariana, Emanuel Sa, Suarez, Salmeron, Molina, the letters of the Jeſuits of Naples, and the number of other writings in which this wicked doctrine of king-killing is found. It is true that Chatel had not been adviſed by any of the Jeſuits; but it is likewiſe as true, that while he was a ſtudent among them, he had heard this doctrine, which was at that time too common.

How can the baniſhment of the Jeſuits in theſe times be looked upon as ſo very unjuſt, when no complaint is made of the treatment of the father and mother of John Chatel, who were guilty of no other crime than that of having brought into the world an unhappy creature, whoſe underſtanding had been perverted? Theſe unhappy parents were condemned to be baniſhed and do penance; their houſe was levelled to the ground, and a pillar erected on the place where it ſtood, with the crime and ſentence engraven on it; and where it is ſaid that the court has for ever baniſhed this ſociety

ſociety of a new kind and a deviliſh ſuperſtition, which had inſtigated John Chatel to this horrid crime. It is farther worthy of obſervation, that the arret of the parliament was inſerted in the Roman index. All this demonſtrates that theſe were times of fanaticiſm; that if the Jeſuits had, in common with others, taught theſe dreadful maxims, they appeared more dangerous than others, becauſe they had the education of youth; that they were puniſhed for paſt faults, which three years before had not been conſidered as faults in Paris; and laſtly, that the unhappineſs of thoſe times rendered this arret of the parliament neceſſary.

Theſe dreadful examples, however, did not deſtroy the ſpirit of the league, and Henry IV. at length fell a victim to it. Ravaillac had for ſome time been a mendicant friar, and his mind was ſtill heated with what he had heard in his youth. Never did ſuperſtition in any age produce ſuch dreadful effects. This unhappy wretch thought exactly as John Chatel had done, that he ſhould divert the wrath of God by murdering Henry IV. The people ſaid that the king was going to make war upon the pope, becauſe he was going to aſſiſt the proteſtants in Germany. Germany was at that time divided by two leagues, the one called the evangelical, which was compoſed of almoſt all the proteſtant princes, and the other the catholic, at the head of which they had put the pope's name. Henry protected the proteſtant league; this was the ſole cauſe of his being murdered: for we muſt credit the conſtant depoſition of Ravaillac. He declared, without ever varying, that he had no accomplice, and that he had been

been urged to this action by an inſtinct which he could not overcome. He ſigned his depoſition, of which ſome ſheets were afterwards found in the year 1720, by a ſecretary of the parliament, and which I have ſeen: his abominable name is diſtinctly written, and under it in the ſame hand, this diſtich:

Que toujours dans mon cœur
Jeſus ſoit le vainqueur.

"For ever in my heart
"Let Chriſt have the firſt part."

A freſh proof that this monſter was no other than a furious madman; and it is a great inſtance of the force of deſtiny, that France ſhould have been deprived of Henry IV. and the ſtate of Europe changed by ſuch a man. Some have dared to impute this crime to the houſe of Auſtria, others to Mary of Medicis the king's conſort, to Balzac d'Entragues his miſtreſs, and to the duke of Epernon; theſe invidious inſinuations, which Mezeray and others have copied without properly examining them, deſtroy each other, and only ſerve to ſhew the great credulity of human malice.

Ravaillac † was only the blind inſtrument of the ſpirit of times equally blind. Barriere, Cha-

† This infamous miſcreant had for ſome time followed the king in his excurſions, in queſt of an opportunity to perpetrate his horrid purpoſe. That very morning he intended to have ſtabbed him at the Feuillans, where he went to hear maſs, but was hindred by the interpoſition of the duke de Vendome. After dinner the king appeared extremely

Chatel, Ouin the Carthuſian, and the vicar of St. Nicholas des Champs hanged in 1595, a tapeſtry weaver in 1596, a wretch who was, or pretended to be mad, and others whoſe names have eſcaped my memory, all attempted the ſame murder; they were all young, and all of the dregs of the people, ſo much does religion become fury in the minds of the com-

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tremely uneaſy, and leaning his head upon his hand, was heard to ſay ſoftly, "My God! what is this that will not ſuffer me to be quiet?" About four in the afternoon he went into his coach with the duke d' Epernon, the duke de Montbazon, the marquis de la Force, the marquis de Mirebeau, meſſieurs de Ravardin, Roquelaur, and Liancourt, and ordered the coachman to drive to the croſs of Tiroy. From thence it proceeded to the church-yard of St. Innocent; then turning into the Rue de la Ferroniere, which was very narrow, there was a ſtop, occaſioned by two loaded carts. The king had ſent away his guards, and ordered the coach to be opened, that he might ſee the preparations for the queen's entry: all the pages had gone round another way except two, one of whom went before to clear the way, while the other ſtopped behind to tie up his garter. Ravaillac, who had followed the carriage, took this opportunity to perpetrate his ſhocking purpoſe. He mounted on the coach wheel, and with a long knife ſharp on both ſides, ſtruck the king over the ſhoulder of the duke d'Epernon. Henry exclaiming, "I am wounded," the aſſaſſin repeated the blow with greater force, and the knife penetrated the thorax, divided the vena cava, ſo that the king expired immediately. Ravaillac was not ſeen by any perſon while he performed this atrocious murder; and if he had thrown down the knife under the coach, he might have eſcaped unnoticed: but he ſtood on the wheel like a ſtatue, with the bloody knife in his hand. A gentleman coming up, would have put him to death immediately, but the duke d'Epernon called aloud, "Save him on your life," and the miſcreant was taken alive. Every body knows the nature of the torments to which this deſperate fanatic was ſubjected.

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mon people and youth. Of all the aſſaſſins which this horrible age produced, only Poltrot de Mèré * was a gentleman.

CHAP. CXLV.

Of FRANCE under the Reign of LEWIS XIII. till the Adminiſtration of Cardinal de RICHELIEU. General Eſtates held in FRANCE. Misfortunes in the Adminiſtration. The Marechal d'ANCRE aſſaſſinated; his wife condemned to be burnt. Adminiſtration of the Duke de LUINES. Civil wars. In what Manner Cardinal RICHELIEU came into the Council.

AFTER the death of Henry IV.‡ it was ſeen how much the power, credit, manners, and ſpirit of a nation frequently depend

* The proteſtant fanatic who aſſaſſinated the duke of Guiſe at the ſiege of Orleans, in the year 1563.

‡ This great prince often expreſſed his deſire of accompliſhing ten things, which were called his ten wiſhes, viz. God's grace and aſſiſtance; the preſervation of his ſenſes to the hour of his death; the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion; a divorce from his firſt wife Margaret, with whom he lived unhappily; the reſtoration of the antient ſplendor of France; the recovery of Navarre, Flanders, or Artois, from Spain; a victory gained in perſon over the catholic king, and another againſt the grand ſignor; the reduction of his proteſtant ſubjects to obedience, without having recourſe to violence; the humiliation of the dukes of Epernon, Bouillon, and Tremouille, ſo that they ſhould implore his clemency; and finally, the execution of his grand deſign.

upon

upon a ſingle man. This prince had by a vigorous, yet gentle adminiſtration, kept all orders of the ſtate in union, lulled all factions to ſleep, maintained peace between the two religions, and kept his people in plenty. He held the balance of Europe in his hands by his alliance, his riches, and his arms. All theſe advantages were loſt in the very firſt year of the regency of his widow, Mary of Medicis. The duke of Epernon, the haughty minion of Henry III. the ſecret enemy to Henry IV. and the declared one of his miniſters, went to the parliament the very day that Henry was aſſaſſinated. Epernon as colonel-general of the infantry, had the command of the regiment of guards: he entered the aſſemblies with his hand on his ſword, and obliged the parliament to aſſume to itſelf the right of diſpoſing of the regency, a right which till then had belonged only to the general eſtates. It has been an eſtabliſhed law in all nations, that thoſe who have a right to nominate a perſon to fill the throne when vacant, have likewiſe that of appointing the regency. To make a king is the firſt of all rights; to appoint a regent is the ſecond, and this ſuppoſes the firſt. The parliament of Paris then tried the cauſe of the vacant throne, and diſpoſed of the ſupreme power, by being forced to it by the duke of Epernon, and becauſe that there had not been time to aſſemble the three orders of the ſtate.

It publiſhed an arret, declaring Mary of Medicis ſole regent. The next day the queen came to have the decree confirmed in preſence of her ſon; and the chancellor de Sillery, in

that ceremony which is called the bed of juſtice †, took the opinions of the preſidents before that of the peers, and even the princes of the blood, who pretended to a ſhare in the regency.

You ſee by this, and you may have frequently remembered, how rights and cuſtoms are eſtabliſhed, and how what has been once ſolemnly done contrary to the antient rules, becomes itſelf a rule thenceforward, till ſome future occaſion cauſes it to be laid aſide.

Mary of Medicis thus appointed regent, tho' not miſtreſs of the kingdom, laviſhed in making of creatures all that Henry the Great had amaſſed to render his nation powerful. The army he had raiſed to carry the war into Germany was diſbanded, the princes he had taken under his protection were abandoned. Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, the new ally of Henry IV. was obliged to aſk pardon of Philip III. of Spain, for having entered into a treaty with the French king, and ſent his ſon to Madrid to implore the mercy of the Spaniſh court, and to humble himſelf as a ſubject in his father's name. The princes of Germany, whom Henry had protected with an army of forty thouſand men, now found themſelves almoſt without aſſiſtance. The ſtate loſt all its

1610

† When the king of France goes to parliament to hold a bed of juſtice, the different chambers aſſemble in their red robes, with ſcarlet capes, the preſidents having their mantles and capes of ſcarlet, with their caps called mortiers. The king is ſeated upon a throne under a canopy of blue velvet, powdered with golden flowers de lis. The firſt preſident begins his harangue on his knees; but the king bids him riſe, and allows him to ſpeak ſtanding. The ſame ceremony is obſerved towards the advocate general.

credit

credit abroad, and was diſtracted at home. The princes of the blood and the great nobles filled France with factions, as in the times of Francis II. Charles IX. and Henry III. and as afterwards, during the minority of Lewis XIV.

At length an aſſembly of the general eſtates * was called at Paris, the laſt 1614
that was held in France. The parliament of Paris was not admitted to a ſeat in it. Its deputies had aſſiſted at the great aſſembly of the chief men of the kingdom, held at Rouen in 1594; but this was not a convocation of the general eſtates; the intendants of the finances,

* The ſtates general of France were compoſed of three orders, the clergy, the nobleſſe, and the tiers etat, or third eſtate, conſiſting of magiſtrates repreſenting the people. They were convoked occaſionally, at the pleaſure of the king, by his edict directed to the different parliaments, which diſtributed theſe edicts to the bailies and inferior judges. They were called to give their advice and aſſiſtance to the ſovereign, and deliberate upon the ſtate of the nation in all emergencies. In this laſt aſſembly of the ſtates-general of France, the chamber of the clergy conſiſted of one hundred and forty deputies, including cardinals, archbiſhops, biſhops, and other eccleſiaſtics: there were one hundred and thirty-two members in the chambre of the nobleſſe; and in that of the third eſtate one hundred and ninety-two deputies, moſtly officers of juſtice, or of the revenue. In the general proceſſion the tiers-etat went before, the nobleſſe came after, and laſtly the clergy. During their ſeſſion, Lewis XIII. being a child, was placed upon an elevated ſeat, accompanied by the queen-mother, monſieur the king's brother, the princes and great officers of the crown, placed each according to his rank, on a large theatre. The clergy were ſeated on benches to the right, the nobleſſe to the left, and behind them the tiers-etat. Cardinal Joyeuſe was preſident for the clergy, baron de Seneicey for the nobleſſe, and the prevot des marchands of Paris for the third order.

and

and the treaſurers, had taken their ſeats there as well as the magiſtrates.

The univerſity formally ſummoned the chamber of the clergy to receive it as one of the members of the eſtates, alledging that it was its ancient privilege; but the univerſity had loſt its privileges with its credit, as the minds of the people became more free, though not more enlightened.

Theſe eſtates thus aſſembled in haſte, had no truſtees for the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom, like the parliament of England, and the diets of the empire; they had no part in the ſupreme legiſlature, and yet they wanted to be law-givers; a privilege naturally ſought after by every body which is the repreſentative of a nation. From the private ambition of each individual, is formed a general ambition.

The moſt remarkable thing which happened in theſe eſtates was, that the clergy in vain demanded that the council of Trent ſhould be received in France; and the third eſtate, with as little ſucceſs, demanded the publication of the law, "That no power, ſpiritual or temporal, has a right to diſpoſe of the kingdom, or to releaſe the ſubjects from their oath of allegiance; and that the opinion of its being lawful to kill kings is impious and deteſtable."

It was the third eſtate in particular, who moved for this law, after having attempted to depoſe Henry III. and ſuffering the utmoſt extremities of famine, rather than acknowledge Henry IV. But the factions of the league were extinguiſhed, and the third eſtate, which makes the principal part of the nation, and cannot have any private intereſt, was attached to the crown,

crown, and detested the pretensions of the court of Rome. Cardinal de Perron on this occasion forgot what he owed to the blood of Henry IV. and thought only of the interest of the church. He strongly opposed this law, and suffered himself to be carried away so far as to declare, "That he should be obliged to excommunicate all those who should persist in maintaining that the church has not the power of deposing kings." He added at the same time, that the pope's power "was full, most full, directly in spiritual matters, and indirectly in temporal." The ecclesiastical chamber, which was governed by the cardinal, persuaded the chamber of the nobless to join with it. The body of the nobless had always been jealous of the clergy, but it affected to think in every thing different from the third estates. The question now in dispute was, whether the spiritual and temporal powers had a right to dispose of the crown? The body of nobles, tho' it did not declare so much, thought itself essentially a temporal power. The cardinal told them, "That if a king should go about to force his subjects to become Arians or Mahometans, he ought to be deposed." This was a very unreasonable speech, for there had been a number of emperors and kings who were Arians, and yet had not been deposed on that account. This supposition, however chimerical and absurd as it was, persuaded the deputies of the nobless that there were some cases in which the chiefs of the nation might dethrone their sovereign; and this privilege, though distant, was so flattering to self-love, that the nobless were desirous of sharing it with the clergy. The ecclesiastical chamber

chamber ſignified to the third eſtate, that it was indeed their opinion that it was not lawful to kill the king, but were reſolute as to the reſt.

In the midſt of this ſtrange diſpute, the parliament iſſued an arret, declaring it to be a fundamental law of the ſtate, that the throne was abſolutely independent.

It was doubtleſs the intereſt of the court to ſupport the demand of the third eſtate, and the arret of parliament, after the many troubles which had endangered the throne in preceding reigns. Nevertheleſs the court gave way to cardinal Perron, the clergy, and the court of Rome, with which latter it was particularly deſirous to keep fair, and ſuppreſſed an opinion on which its own ſafety was founded, from a perſuaſion at that time, that this truth would never be really oppoſed by any future event, and from a deſire to put an end to diſputes which were of too delicate and diſagreeable a nature: it even ſuppreſſed the arret of parliament, on pretence that that court had not the leaſt right to determine concerning the deliberations of the eſtates; that it had been wanting in the reſpect due to them; and that it did not belong to it to make fundamental laws. Thus did the court wreſt the arms out of the hands of thoſe who were fighting for it, as thinking it ſhould have no need of them. At length the reſult of this aſſembly was, the laying open all the grievances of the kingdom, without being able to redreſs one.

France remained in confuſion, and governed by one Concini, a Florentine, who roſe to be marechal of France without ever having drawn a ſword, and prime miniſter without know-

knowing any thing of the laws. It was ſufficient that he was a foreigner for the princes to be diſpleaſed with him.

Mary of Medicis was in a very unhappy ſituation, for ſhe could not ſhare her authority with the prince of Condé, chief of the malecontents, without being deprived of it altogether; nor truſt it in the hands of Concini, without diſpleaſing the whole kingdom. Henry prince of Condé, father of the great Condé, and ſon to him who had gained the battle of Coutras, in conjunction with Henry IV. put himſelf at the head of a party, and took up arms. The court made a diſſembled peace with him, and afterwards clapt him up in the Baſtile. 1616

This had been the fate of his father and grandfather, and was afterwards that of his ſon. His confinement encreaſed the number of the malecontents. The Guiſes, who had formerly been implacable enemies to the Condé family, now joined with them. The duke of Vendome, ſon to Henry IV. the duke of Nevers, of the houſe of Gonzaga, the marechal de Bouillon, and all the reſt of the malecontents, fortified themſelves in the provinces, proteſting that they continued true to their king, and made war only againſt the prime miniſter.

Concini *, marechal d'Ancre, ſecure of the queen regent's protection, braved them all. He raiſed

* A native of the county of Penna in Tuſcany. He followed Mary of Medicis, who appointed him her gentleman-uſher, and afterwards made him gentleman of the bedchamber to the king her ſon. He owed his fortune to the

raiſed ſeven thouſand men at his own expence, to ſupport the royal authority, or rather his own, and this ſtep proved his ruin. It is true that he raiſed theſe troops by virtue of a commiſſion from the king; but it was a great misfortune to France that a ſtranger, who had come thither without any fortune, ſhould have wherewithal to raiſe as ſtrong an army as that with which Henry IV. had recovered his kingdom. Almoſt the whole nation combined againſt him could not procure his fall; and a young man, of whom he had not the leaſt apprehenſion, and who was a ſtranger like himſelf, cauſed his ruin, and all the misfortunes of Mary of Medicis.

Charles Albert of Luines, born in the county of Avignon, had, with his two brothers, been taken into the number of gentlemen in ordinary to the king, and the companions of his education. He had inſinuated himſelf into the good graces and confidence of the young monarch,

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of his wife Leonora Galigai, who was the queen's favourite. He was created marquis d'Ancre, governor of Normandy, marechal of France, and had a conſiderable ſhare in the adminiſtration, during the minority of Lewis XIII. He incurred the hatred of the French, by his inſolence, ambition, and avarice, tho' perhaps at bottom they thought his greateſt crime was his being a foreigner. When he firſt quitted Florence, one of his friends aſking him what he was going to make in France, he replied, "My fortune, or periſh." Chriſtina of Lorrain, grand dutcheſs of Tuſcany, having employed a perſon in whom ſhe could confide, to adviſe him in her name to bring his ſhip ſoftly into harbour, in order to avoid the tempeſt that ſeemed ready to burſt upon his head; he declared, that while the wind was aſtern, he would keep the ſea and continue his voyage, that he might ſee how far the gale of fortune would carry a favourite.

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by his dexterity in bird-catching. It was never ſuppoſed that theſe childiſh amuſements would end in a bloody revolution. The marechal d'Ancre had given him the government of Amboiſe, thinking by that to make him his creature; but this young man conceived the deſign of murdering his benefactor, baniſhing the queen, and governing himſelf; all which he accompliſhed without meeting with any obſtacle. He ſoon found means of perſuading the king that he was capable of reigning alone, though he was not then quite ſeventeen years old, and told him that the queen-mother and Concini kept him in confinement. The young king, to whom in his childhood they had given the name of Juſt, conſented to the murder of his prime miniſter; the marquis of Vitri, captain 1617
of the king's guards, du Hallier his brother, Perſan, and others, were ſent to diſpatch him, who finding him in the court of the Louvre, ſhot him dead with their piſtols: upon this they cried out *Vive le roi*, as if they had gained a battle, and Lewis XIII. appearing at a window, cried out, *now I am king*. The queen-mother had her guards taken from her, and was confined to her own apartment, and afterwards baniſhed to Blois. The place of marechal of France, held by Concini, was given to the marquis of Vitri, his murderer. The like honour had been conferred by the queen-mother on Thémines, for ſeizing the prince of Condé; this made the duke of Bouillon ſay, that he was aſhamed of being a marechal, ſince that dignity had been made the reward of a bailiff and an aſſaſſin.

The populace, who are always in extremes, and always cruel when let looſe, ran to St. Germain l'Auxerrois, where Concini had been buried, dug up his dead body, dragged it thro' the ſtreets, and cut out the heart; nay, there were ſome of them ſo brutal, as to broil it upon a fire and eat it. His body they afterwards hung upon a gibbet. There was ſtill a ſpirit of fierceneſs in the nation, which, though ſoftened for a time by the happy years of Henry IV. and the taſte for the arts, which had been introduced by Mary of Medicis, was ſtill breaking out upon the leaſt occaſion. The populace treated the remains of the marechal d'Ancre in this cruel manner, only becauſe he was a foreigner, and had been powerful.

The famous Nani in his hiſtory, the marechal d'Eſtrées in his memoirs, and the count de Brienne, do juſtice to Concini's merit and innocence; and ſuch teſtimonies ſerve to ſet the living right, though they cannot do any thing for thoſe who have ſuffered in ſo unjuſt and cruel a manner.

This furious hatred was not confined only to the common people: a commiſſion is ſent to the parliament for paſſing ſentence upon the marechal after his death, and for trying his wife Eleanor Galigai, thus to ſcreen the infamy of his murder under the appearance of legal cruelty. Five counſellors of the parliament refuſed to aſſiſt at the trial; but there were only five prudent and juſt men.

Never was there a proceeding ſo void of juſtice and ſo diſgraceful to reaſon. They could not find any crime againſt the marechal's wife, but that of having been the queen's favourite:

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ſhe was accuſed of ſorcery, and certain *agnus dei*'s which ſhe carried about her were taken for taliſmans. The counſellor Courtin demanded of her what charms ſhe had made uſe of to bewitch the queen? Galigai incenſed againſt the counſellor, and a little diſpleaſed with Mary of Medicis, replied, "My only charm was the power which all great minds have over weak ones." This anſwer did not ſave her: ſome of the judges had diſcernment and juſtice enough not to think her worthy of death; but the reſt, carried away by the general prejudice, by ignorance, and ſtill more by the perſuaſions of thoſe who wanted to have a ſhare in the ſpoils of this unhappy pair, paſſed ſentence on the huſband who was already dead, and his wife who ſurvived him, as guilty of 1617 ſorcery, Judaiſm, and mal-practices. Galigai was burnt, and the king's favourite, Luines, had the confiſcated eſtates.

This unfortunate Galigai was the firſt promoter of cardinal Richelieu's fortune; while he was yet very young, and called the abbot of Chillon, ſhe procured him the biſhopric of Luçon, and at length got him made ſecretary of ſtate in 1616. He was involved in the diſgrace of his protectors, and he who afterwards pronounced ſentence of baniſhment againſt ſo many from that throne on which he was ſeated next his maſter, was now baniſhed himſelf to a little priory, at the farther end of Anjou.

Concini, without ever having ſerved, had been a marechal of France; Luines was four years afterwards conſtable of the ſame kingdom, without having been an officer. Such a miniſtry met with little reſpect; nothing was

ſeen but factions among the nobles and the people, and every one undertook the moſt daring enterprizes.

1619 The duke of Epernon, who had cauſed the queen to be declared regent, went to the caſtle of Blois, whither ſhe had been baniſhed, and carried her to his eſtate in Angoulême, like a ſovereign who reſcues his ally.

This was manifeſtly an act of high treaſon; but a crime that was approved by the whole kingdom, and which added to the duke of Epernon's glory. The nation had hated Mary of Medicis while ſhe was in full power, and they loved her now that ſhe was unfortunate. No one murmured when the king impriſoned his mother in the Louvre, nor when he baniſhed her without any reaſon; and now they conſidered as a wicked attempt the endeavours he uſed to take his mother out of the hands of a rebel. They were ſo apprehenſive of the violence of Luines's counſels, and the cruelty and weakneſs of the king, that his own confeſſor, the Jeſuit Arnoux, as he was preaching in his preſence, before the accommodation, made uſe of theſe remarkable words: "It can never be believed, that a religious prince would draw his ſword to ſhed the blood of which he was formed: you would not ſuffer me, ſire, to advance a falſhood from the ſeat of truth. I conjure you, by the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, not to hearken to violent counſels, nor to give this ſubject of ſcandal to all Chriſtendom."

It was a freſh proof of the weakneſs of the adminiſtration, that any one durſt ſpeak thus from the pulpit. Father Arnoux could not have expreſſed himſelf otherwiſe had the king con-

condemned his mother to death. Lewis XIII. had then hardly begun to raiſe an army againſt the duke of Epernon; it was therefore publicly revealing the ſecrets of the ſtate, and ſpeaking in the name of God againſt the duke of Luines. Either the confeſſor had an heroic and indiſcreet freedom, or he had been gained over by Mary of Medicis. Whatever was his motive, this public diſcourſe ſhews that there was a degree of boldneſs even in thoſe minds, which ſeemed formed only for ſubmiſſion. A few years afterwards, the conſtable had the confeſſor diſcharged.

However, the king was ſo far from running into thoſe violences of which people had been apprehenſive, that he ſought an opportunity of reconciliation with his mother, and entered into a treaty with the duke of Epernon, as between prince and prince. He did not even venture to ſay in his declaration that the duke of Epernon had given him cauſe of offence. 1619

But the treaty of reconciliation was hardly ſigned when it was broken again; this was the true ſpirit of the times. New parties took up arms in favour of the queen, and always to oppoſe the duke of Luines, as before it had been to oppoſe the marechal d'Ancre, but never againſt the king. Every favourite at that time drew after him a civil war. Lewis and his mother in fact made war upon each other. Mary was in Anjou at the head of a ſmall army againſt her ſon; they engaged each other on the bridge of Cé, and the kingdom was on the point of ruin.

This confuſion made the fortune of the famous Richelieu. He was comptroller of the

queen-mother's houſhold, and had ſupplanted all that princeſs's confidents, as he afterwards did all the king's miniſters. His pliable temper and bold diſpoſition muſt neceſſarily have acquired him the firſt rank every where, or have proved his ruin. He brought about the accommodation between the mother and ſon; and a nomination to the purple, which the queen aſked of the king for him, was the reward of his ſervices. The duke of Epernon was the firſt to lay down arms without making any demands, whilſt the reſt made the king pay them for having taken up arms againſt him.

The queen-mother and the king her ſon had an interview at Briſac, where they embraced with a flood of tears, only to quarrel again more violently than ever. The weakneſs, intrigues, and diviſions of the court, ſpread anarchy through the kingdom. All the internal defects with which the ſtate had for a long time been attacked, were now encreaſed, and thoſe which Henry IV. had removed were revived anew.

The church ſuffered greatly, and was ſtill in more diſorder than the ſtate.

It was not conſiſtent with the intereſt of Henry IV. to attempt a reformation; the weak piety of Lewis XIII. ſuffered the diſorder to continue. Regularity and decency were firſt introduced by Lewis XIV. Almoſt all the church-livings were in poſſeſſion of the laity, who hired poor prieſts to officiate for them. The rich abbeys were all in the hands of the princes of the blood. Some of the church-lands were looked upon as family-eſtates; an abbey was ſtipulated for a dowry with a wife, and

and a colonel recruited his regiment with the revenues of a priory. The court-clergy frequently wore the ſword, and amongſt the many private and public duels which deſolated France, there were ſeveral fought by churchmen, from the cardinal of Guiſe, who drew his ſword againſt Gonzaga duke of Nevers, in 1617, to the abbot, afterwards the cardinal de Retz, who had ſeveral engagements of this kind while he was ſolliciting for the archbiſhopric of Paris. The minds of men were in general groſs and uncultivated. The genius of a Malherbe * and a Ra-

* Malherbe is conſidered as the father of French poetry. His works conſiſt of paraphraſes of pſalms, odes, ſtanzas, ſonnets, and epigrams; and it muſt be owned, he bears a conſiderable rank among the lyric poets. He was patronized by Henry IV. and afterwards obtained a penſion of five hundred crowns a-year from queen Mary de Medicis. He was remarkably blunt in his converſation and addreſs, of a very litigious diſpoſition, and recited his own verſes with a very bad grace, hawking and ſpitting five or ſix times in repeating every ſtanza. The cavalier Marini ſaid he never ſaw ſuch a moiſt man, and ſuch a dry poet. But he could not bear to be cenſured for his bad pronunciation; one day that Racan told him he ſwallowed one half of his words, "Z---ds! (ſaid he) if you plague me at this rate, I'll eat up all my verſes; ---- they are my own, for I made them, and I may make of them whatever I pleaſe." In point of religion, he was a free-thinker. M. de Racan viſiting him one Saturday, which happened to be next day to Candlemas, found him eating bacon at eight in the morning, and ſaid to him by way of reprehenſion, "Oh! monſieur, the virgin is purified, ---- ſhe is riſen." "Not at all, (replied Malherbe) your ladies don't riſe ſo early in the morning." When he lay on his death-bed, his confeſſor talking to him of the joys of heaven, in a ſtile that was by no means elegant, Malherbe begged he would ſay no more of the matter, for his ſtile was ſo bad that it gave him a diſguſt to the ſubject. His ſon, a promiſing young man, being

a Racan * was only a new light, which did not ſpread itſelf over the nation. A ſavage pedantry, companion to that ignorance which paſſed for ſcience, ſoured the manners of all the public bodies appointed for the education of youth, and even thoſe of the magiſtracy. It is hardly credible that the parliament of Paris in 1621, forbid every one, under pain of death, to teach any thing contrary to the doctrine of Ariſtotle and the ancient authors; and that one de Clave and his companions were baniſhed from that city, for having attempted to maintain theſes againſt the Ariſtotelian principles, concerning the number of the elements, and matter and form.

Notwithſtanding this ſeverity and ſtrictneſs of manners, the diſtribution of juſtice was venal in almoſt all the courts of the provinces. Henry IV. acknowledged as much to the parliament of Paris, which had always diſtinguiſhed itſelf by its incorruptible integrity, and its conſtant oppoſition to the wills of miniſters and pecuniary edicts. "I know, ſaid that prince, that it is not your cuſtom to ſell juſtice, but in

being killed in a duel, he was ſo afflicted and exaſperated, that, though in the ſeventy-third year of his age, he challenged the gentleman who had ſlain him, and was with great difficulty prevailed upon by his friends to accommodate the affair, and receive as an atonement ten thouſand crowns, which he propoſed to expend in erecting a monument for his ſon; but his own death prevented the execution of this deſign.

* Honoratus de Bueil, marquis de Racan, was the friend and admirer of Malherbe, and, like him, acquired great reputation in lyric poetry. Boileau preferred him in point of genius to his friend, though he blames him for his negligence, and a deſire of imitating Malherbe.

other

other parliaments there is frequently a neceſſity to ſupport one's cauſe by dint of money; I remember it, and have myſelf often been obliged to pay for it."

The huſbandmen were oppreſſed by the nobleſſe, who fortified themſelves within their caſtles, mounted on horſeback to follow the governor of a province, or attached themſelves to the ſervice of thoſe princes who raiſed commotions in the ſtate. The towns were deſtitute of police, and the roads impaſſable, or infected with robbers. The regiſters of the parliament prove, that the Paris watch, appointed for the ſafety of the city, conſiſted at that time of forty-five men, who never did ſervice. Theſe diſorders, which Henry IV. had not been able to remove, were not however in the number of thoſe diſeaſes of the body politic which could deſtroy it; its truly dangerous maladies were, the diſorder of the finances, the diſſipation of the money raiſed by Henry IV. the neceſſity of laying taxes on the people during a peace, which Henry had exempted them from even when making preparations for a war of the greateſt conſequence; the tyrannical methods uſed in levying theſe taxes, which only ſerved to enrich the farmers of the revenue; the immenſe fortunes raiſed by theſe farmers, whom the duke of Sully had removed, and who, under the ſubſequent adminiſtration, fattened upon the blood of the people.

To theſe diſeaſes, which impaired the vigour of the body politic, were added others, which gave it frequent and violent ſhocks. The governors of provinces, who were only lieutenants under Henry IV. wanted to be indepen-

dent of Lewis XIII. Their privileges, or rather uſurpations, were boundleſs: they diſpoſed of all places; the poorer ſort of gentry devoted their ſervices chiefly to them, very little to the king, and ſtill leſs to the ſtate. Every governor of a province drew ſums from his department, for maintaining a body of troops, in the place of thoſe guards which Henry IV. had taken from them. The government of Guienne was worth a million of livres to the duke of Epernon.

We have juſt ſeen this ſubject taking the queen-mother under his protection, making war upon the king, and accepting peace with a haughty pride. The marechal de Leſdiguieres had, three years before, *viz.* in 1616, ſignalized his own greatneſs and the weakneſs of the crown in a ſtill more glorious manner; he raiſed a real army at his own expence, or rather at that of Dauphiny, the province of which he was not governor, but only lieutenant-general, led his army into the Alps, notwithſtanding the poſitive and repeated prohibition of the court, aſſiſted the duke of Savoy againſt the Spaniards, though the court had abandoned his cauſe, and returned home triumphant. France was then as full of powerful nobles as in the reign of Henry III. this only added to the weakneſs of the kingdom.

It is not in the leaſt ſurpriſing, that France ſhould at that time have let ſlip the moſt favourable occaſion which had preſented itſelf ſince the time of Charles V. to limit the power of the houſe of Auſtria, by aſſiſting the elector Palatine, who was choſen king of Bohemia, and by keeping the balance of Germany agree-

able to Henry IV's plan, which was afterwards followed by the cardinals Richelieu and Mazarine. The court had taken too great umbrage at the Huguenots in France, to aſſiſt or protect the proteſtants in Germany. It feared that the reformed would do that in France which their brethren were doing in the empire; but had the government been as powerful and well eſtabliſhed as in the reign of Henry IV. in the laſt year of Richelieu's miniſtry, under Lewis XIV. it would have aſſiſted the proteſtants of Germany, and at the ſame time have kept thoſe of France in proper ſubjection. Luines did not conceive theſe great deſigns during his adminiſtration, and had he conceived them, he was not in a condition to fulfil them. It required a well reſpected authority, regularity in the finances, and large armies; all which were wanting.

The diviſions of the court, under a king who always wanted to be maſter, and was always ſetting a maſter over himſelf, ſpread the ſpirit of ſedition through all the cities of the kingdom. It was impoſſible but that this flame, ſooner or later, muſt communicate itſelf to the reformed in France. This was what the court apprehended, and its weakneſs produced this apprehenſion; it was ſenſible that it would be diſobeyed whenever it attempted to command, and it would always command.

Lewis XIII. at that time annexed Bearn to the crown by a ſolemn edict; 1620
this edict reſtored to the catholics thoſe churches which the Huguenots had taken poſſeſſion of before the reign of Henry IV. and which that monarch had continued to them. The party aſſembles at Rochelle, in defiance of the king's

prohibition. The love of liberty, ſo natural to mankind, inſpired the reformed at that time with the flattering idea of forming themſelves into a republic, in which they were not a little encouraged by the example of their proteſtant brethren in Germany. As their imaginations were warmed, they divided the provinces in which they were diſperſed into eight circles, each circle had a general as thoſe in Germany. The generals were the marechal de Bouillon, the duke of Soubiſe, the duke de la Trimouille, Chatillon grandſon to admiral Coligni, and the marechal of Leſdiguieres. The generaliſſimo to be choſen by them in time of war was to have a ſeal, with theſe words engraven on it, *pour Chriſt & pour le roi*, (for Chriſt and the king) that is againſt the king. Rochelle was deſtined to be the capital of this republic, which would be able to form a ſtate within the kingdom.

The reformed from this inſtant made preparations for war. They appear to have been already pretty powerful, ſince they offered the poſt of general to the marechal of Leſdiguieres, with a ſalary of one hundred thouſand crowns per month. Leſdiguieres however, who wanted to be conſtable of France, choſe rather to fight againſt them than to command them, and ſoon after quitted their religion; but he preſently found himſelf diſappointed in his expectations from the court. The duke of Luines, who had never drawn a ſword before, now made uſe of that of conſtable; and Leſdiguieres having advanced too far to retreat, was obliged to ſerve under Luines, againſt thoſe of whom he had hitherto been the chief protector.

1621

The court was under the neceſſity of treating with all the heads of the party, in order to keep them within bounds, and with all the governors of the provinces, to raiſe troops. Lewis then marches towards the Loire, and from thence into Poitou, Bearn, and the ſouthern provinces; the prince of Condé was at the head of a body of Huguenot troops, and the conſtable de Luines commanded the king's army.

On this occaſion an ancient form was revived, which is now entirely laid aſide. When they came near a town commanded by a ſuſpected perſon, a herald at arms preſented himſelf before the gates, the commanding officer liſtened to him uncovered, and the herald cried out, "Iſaac or Jacob ſuch an one, the king, thy ſovereign lord and mine, commands thee to open the gates, and to receive him and his army as in duty bound; on failure of which, I declare thee guilty of high treaſon in all its degrees, thou and thy poſterity: thy goods ſhall be confiſcated, thy houſes razed to the ground, and thoſe of all who are aſſiſting or abetting to thee."

Almoſt all the towns opened their gates to the king, excepting that of St. John d'Angeli, whoſe ramparts he demoliſhed, and the little town of Clérac, which ſurrendered at diſcretion. The court, puffed up with this ſucceſs, cauſed the conſul of Clérac and 1621
four miniſters to be hanged.

This execution, inſtead of diſmaying the Huguenots, only ſerved to irritate them the more. Preſſed on all ſides, and deſerted by the marechal Leſdiguieres, and the marechal de Bouillon, they made choice of the famous duke Ben-

Benjamin of Rohan for their general, whom they looked upon as the greateſt captain of his age; they compared him to the princes of Orange, and thought him equally capable of founding a republic, even more zealous in the cauſe of religion, at leaſt in appearance, vigilant, indefatigable, never ſuffering his pleaſures to divert him from buſineſs, and formed to be the head of a party; a poſt which is at beſt but ſlippery, and where foes and friends are equally to be feared. The title, the rank, and the qualities of the chief of a party, had for a long time been the principal object and ſtudy of the ambitious throughout Europe. The Guelphs and Gibellines had begun it in Italy; the Guiſes and the Condés had afterwards eſtabliſhed a kind of ſchool for theſe politics in France, which continued till the minority of Lewis XIV.

Lewis XIII. was reduced to beſiege his own towns. They thought to ſucceed before Montauban, as they had done before Clérac; but
1621 the conſtable de Luines loſt almoſt the whole royal army, under his maſter's eye.

Montauban was one of thoſe towns, which at preſent would not hold out a ſiege of four days; and it was ſo badly inveſted, that the duke of Rohan threw ſuccours twice into the town, through the beſiegers lines. The marquis de la Force, who commanded in the place, defended himſelf better than he was attacked. This was that James Nonpar de la Force, who was ſo miraculouſly ſaved when a child, from the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, and whom Lewis XIII. afterwards made marechal

of

of France. The citizens of Montauban, whom the puniſhment of thoſe of Clérac had inſpired with a deſperate courage, reſolved to bury themſelves under the ruins of their town, rather than capitulate.

The conſtable, finding he could not ſucceed by temporal arms, employed ſpiritual ones. He ſent for a Spaniſh Carmelite, who was ſaid by his miracles to have aſſiſted the catholic army of the empire to win the battle of Prague againſt the proteſtants. This friar, whoſe name was Dominic, came to the king's camp, bleſſed the army, diſtributed his agnuſſes amongſt them, and ſaid to the king, "You ſhall cauſe four hundred cannon to be fired againſt the town, and at the four hundredth Montauban will capitulate." It is probable that four hundred cannon-ſhot, well directed, might have produced this effect: Lewis ordered them to be fired, Montauban did not ſurrender, and he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege.

This diſgrace made the king leſs reſpected among the catholics, and leſs dreaded by the Huguenots. The conſtable was hated by every one: he led the king to revenge the diſgrace he had received before Montauban, on a little town of Guienne called Monheur, where a fever put an end to his life. Every kind of rapine was at that time ſo common, that, as he was dying, December, 1621 he ſaw his furniture, equipage, and money, carried away before his face by his own ſervants and the ſoldiers, who hardly left a ſheet to cover the corps of that man, who had once been the moſt powerful in the kingdom; who in one hand held the ſword of conſtable, and in the

the other the ſeals of France. He died equally hated by the people and his ſovereign.

Lewis XIII. was unhappily engaged in a war againſt one part of his ſubjects. This war was the work of the duke of Luines, who wanted to keep his maſter embarraſſed, and to be conſtable. Lewis XIII. had been accuſtomed to conſider this war as indiſpenſably neceſſary. The remonſtrances which du Pleſſis-Mornay, when near eighty years of age, made to him on this ſubject, deſerve to be tranſmitted to poſterity. After making uſe of the moſt ſpecious reaſons he could deviſe, he writes thus to him: "A king who makes war upon his ſubjects, demonſtrates his own weakneſs. Authority conſiſts in the peaceable obedience of the people, and that is eſtabliſhed by the prudence and juſtice of him who governs. The force of arms is to be employed only againſt a foreign enemy. The late king would have ſent thoſe new miniſters of ſtate back to ſchool to learn the elements of politics, who like ignorant ſurgeons, could propoſe no other remedies but cauſtics and amputations; or had preſumed to adviſe him to cut off the diſeaſed limb with that which was ſound."

This ſound reaſoning, however, had no effect upon the court. The diſeaſed limb cauſed too many convulſions in the body, and Lewis XIII. who wanted his father's ſtrength of underſtanding, by which he kept the proteſtants within bounds, thought there was no other way to reduce them but by force of arms. He therefore marches into the provinces beyond the Loire, at the head of a ſmall army of about thirteen or fourteen thouſand men. He had beſides

beſides a few bodies of troops diſperſed in theſe provinces. The bad ſtate of the finances would not allow of larger armies at that time, and the Huguenots had not a ſtronger force to oppoſe him with.

Soubiſe, brother to the duke of Rohan, entrenched himſelf with eight thouſand men in the iſland of Rhé, which is ſeparated from Poitou by a ſmall arm of the ſea, which the king paſſed at the head of his army at ebb tide, entirely defeated the enemy, and obliged Soubiſe to fly over to England. It was 1622. impoſſible to ſhew greater intrepidity, or to gain a more compleat victory. Lewis's only weakneſs was that of ſuffering himſelf to be governed, and this one weakneſs made him miſerable all his life, in his houſhold, his government, his private affairs, and even in his leaſt occupations. As to this victory it only ſerved to furniſh the Huguenot chiefs with freſh reſources.

They negotiated even more than they fought, as was the caſe in the time of the league, and in almoſt all civil wars. More than one rebel lord who had been condemned to loſe his life by the parliament, obtained rewards and dignities, while he was executed in effigy. This was what happened to the marquis de la Force, who had driven the royal army from Montauban, and who ſtill kept the field againſt the king. He had a penſion of twenty thouſand crowns, and a marechal of France's ſtaff. The greateſt ſervices could not have been better paid than he was for his ſubmiſſion. Chatillon, Coligni's grandſon, ſold the town of Aiguemortes to the king, and was likewiſe made a marechal.

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Several ſold their obedience in this manner; but Leſdiguieres was the only one who ſold his religion: he had fortified himſelf at that time in Dauphiny, where he ſtill profeſſed the reformed religion, and ſuffered himſelf to be openly ſolicited by the Huguenot party, to join them again; thus keeping the king in continual apprehenſion that he ſhould go over to the faction.

It was propoſed in the council either to murder him or make him conſtable: the king choſe the latter, and then Leſdiguieres became in an inſtant a catholic, which was neceſſary, in order to be conſtable, though not to be marechal of France. Such was the cuſtom, otherwiſe the conſtable's ſword might as well have been in the hands of a Huguenot, as the ſuperintendency of the finances had for a long time been; but the generals of the army, and the chiefs of the council could not profeſs the reformed religion while they were fighting againſt it. This change of religion in Leſdiguieres would have been infamous in a private man, who had only a ſmall intereſt to anſwer; but the greater objects of ambition are ſtrangers to ſhame.

Lewis XIII. then was obliged to be perpetually buying ſervants and treating with rebels. He laid ſiege to Montpelier; and fearing to meet with the ſame diſgrace as he had done before Montauban, he conſented to be received into the town, only on condition of confirming the edict of Nantes, and all the privileges granted to the proteſtants. It is probable that if he had left all the other proteſtant towns in the poſſeſſion of their privileges, and had followed the advice of du Pleſſis-Mornay, he might

might have ſaved himſelf this war; and it is evident that notwithſtanding his victory at Rhé, he gained very little by carrying it on.

The duke of Rohan finding that every one was making terms, made his likewiſe. It was he who prevailed on the inhabitants of Montpelier to receive the king into their town. He ſet on foot, and concluded the general peace with the conſtable Leſdiguieres, at Privas. The king payed him, as he had done the reſt, and gave him the dutchy of Valois as a pledge. 1622

Every thing remained on the ſame footing as before the taking up of arms; ſo that the king and the kingdom were at a great expence to gain nothing. In the courſe of this war there were ſome few unhappy citizens hanged, and the heads of the rebellion were rewarded.

Lewis's council was as much diſtracted during this civil war as the ſtate itſelf. The prince of Condé, who accompanied the king every where, wanted to have the government of both army and ſtate. The miniſters were divided amongſt themſelves, and they had preſſed the king to give the conſtable's ſword to Leſdiguieres, only in order to leſſen the prince of Condé's authority. This prince, wearied with the continual oppoſitions he had to encounter in the cabinet, went to Rome as ſoon as the peace was concluded, to obtain of the pope that the poſt which he poſſeſſed might be made hereditary to his houſe. He might have tranſmitted them to his children without the brief which he had applied for, and which he could not obtain. It was with difficulty that he could even get the title of Highneſs given him

him at Rome, and all the cardinal prieſts took the upper hand of him without ceremony. This was all the fruit of his journey to Rome.

The court, delivered from the burthen of a ruinous and unprofitable civil war, became a prey to freſh intrigues. The miniſters were all declared enemies to one another, and the king equally diſtruſted them all.

It appeared plainly after the death of Luines, that it had been him rather than the king who had perſecuted the queen-mother: for no ſooner was that favourite deceaſed, than ſhe was placed at the head of the council. This princeſs, in order to confirm her reaſſumed authority, reſolved to introduce her favourite the cardinal Richelieu into the council, who was the comptroller of her houſhold, and for whom ſhe had procured the purple, and never ceaſed preſſing the king to admit him into the miniſtry. Almoſt all the memoirs of thoſe times take notice of the king's extreme repugnance to grant this requeſt. He treated as an impoſtor the perſon in whom he afterwards placed all his confidence, and even reflected upon his moral character.

This prince, who was a ſcrupulous devotee, and naturally diſtruſtful, had ſomewhat more than an averſion to the cardinal on account of his gallantries, which were indeed too barefaced, and even ridiculous. He would dreſs at times like a cavalier, and after writing tracts of divinity, go a courting in a hat and feather. De Retz tells us likewiſe in his memoirs, that he added pedantry to theſe ſopperies: but you have no occaſion for de Retz's teſtimony, ſince you have ſeen the love theſes maintained by Riche-

Richelieu's orders in his niece's apartments after the form of the theſes of divinity, maintained in the college of the Sorbonne. The memoirs of thoſe times likewiſe inform us moreover, that he raiſed his inſolent deſires, real or feigned, even to the perſon of the quen conſort, Anne of Auſtria, from whom he received ſuch biting raillery as he never afterwards forgave. I lay theſe anecdotes before you, becauſe they had an influence on great events. In the firſt place they ſhew us that in this famous cardinal, the follies of the man of gallantry took nothing from the greatneſs of the ſtateſman, and that the littleneſſes of private life may be compatible with the heroiſm of a public ſtation. In the ſecond place, they ſerve as a kind of demonſtration that the political will which has been publiſhed in his name, could never have been of his framing. It was not poſſible that cardinal de Richelieu, who was ſo well known to Lewis XIII. for his amorous intrigues, and as the public gallant of Marion Delorme, could have had the front to recommend chaſtity to ſo chaſte a prince as Lewis, who was at that time forty years old, and overwhelmed with diſeaſes.

So great was the king's repugnance to admit him into the miniſtry that the queen-mother was obliged to gain over the comptroller la Vieuville, who was then the miniſter of moſt credit, and who feared Richelieu even more than Lewis did. At length he was admitted into the cabinet againſt the inclination of the king and that of the miniſters; but he had not the firſt place in rank there, which was occupied by the cardinal de la Rochefoucault, nor yet in credit, which la Vieuville continued to hold for ſome time afterwards: he had no de-

part-

partment, no ſuperiority over the other miniſters. "He deſired only, ſays the queen-mother in one of her letters to the king her ſon, to come ſometimes to council." In this manner did he paſs ſome months upon his firſt introduction into the miniſtry.

I muſt again remark that I am ſenſible that theſe minute particulars are in themſelves beneath your notice, and ought to be loſt in greater events; but here they are neceſſary to overturn a falſe notion which has ſo long prevailed with the public, that cardinal Richelieu was prime miniſter, and abſolute maſter of the council. It is this erroneous opinion which has made the pretended author of the political will ſay, "When your majeſty determined to honour me at the ſame time with a ſeat in your council and a great ſhare of your confidence, I then promiſed to uſe all my endeavours to humble the pride of the great, to extirpate the Huguenots, and to raiſe your reputation in all foreign nations."

It is manifeſt that cardinal Richelieu could never have expreſſed himſelf in this manner, ſince he had not the king's confidence at firſt, not to mention how imprudent it would have been in a miniſter to have begun his harangue by telling his maſter, "I will raiſe your reputation," which was giving him to underſtand, that his reputation was low. I ſhall paſs over the multitude of reaſons which prove beyond contradiction that the political will attributed to cardinal Richelieu neither is nor could have been his, and ſhall now return to his adminiſtration.

What

What was afterwards ſaid in relation to the mauſoleum erected to his memory in the Sorbonne, *magnum diſputandi argumentum*, is the true character of his genius and actions. It is very difficult to know a man of whom his flatterers have ſaid ſo much good, and his enemies ſo much ill. He had at once to defend himſelf againſt the houſe of Auſtria, the proteſtants, the grandees of the kingdom, the queen mother his benefactreſs, the king's brother, the queen conſort, to whom he had the inſolence to pay his addreſſes; and laſtly, the king himſelf, to whom he was always neceſſary and always hateful. It was natural for his enemies to endeavour to defame him by libels; to theſe he oppoſed panegyrics, neither of which are deſerving of our belief. We are to repreſent to ourſelves facts.

To make ourſelves as certain of theſe as poſſible, it is neceſſary to chuſe proper writers. For example, what is to be thought of the author of the life of father Joſeph, who quotes a letter of the cardinal's to this famous Capuchin, written, as he ſays, immediately upon his entrance into the council? "As you are the principal agent whom God has employed to bring me to thoſe honours to which I now ſee myſelf raiſed, I look upon myſelf as bound to acquaint you that the king has been pleaſed to confer on me the office of prime miniſter, at the queen's intreaty."

The cardinal did not receive his patent for prime miniſter till the year 1629; and friar Joſeph neither brought him to thoſe honours, nor did he conduct him through them.

Books are but too full of ſuch forgeries, and it is no ſmall labour to ſeparate truth from falſehood. Let us then take a ſummary view of the ſtormy miniſtry, or rather reign of cardinal de Richelieu.

CHAP. CXLVI.

Of the ADMINISTRATION of Cardinal de RICHELIEU.

THE comptroller la Vieuville, who had lent a hand to raiſe the cardinal de Richelieu to the miniſtry, was the firſt cruſhed by him about ſix months after his elevation. He was privately accuſed of miſdemeanours, to which every comptroller is liable.

La Vieuville owed his greatneſs to chancellor Silleri, and had been the cauſe of his diſgrace. He was now ruined in his turn by the perſon who owed his advancement to him. Theſe viciſſitudes, which are ſo common in all courts, were more ſo in that of Lewis XIII. than in any other. La Vieuville is confined in the caſtle of Amboiſe; he had ſet on foot a treaty of marriage between the princeſs Henrietta, ſiſter to Lewis XIII. and Charles prince of Wales, who was ſoon afterwards king of Great Britain. The cardinal put the finiſhing hand to this treaty, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the courts of Rome and Madrid.

He favoured underhand the proteſtants in Germany; but this did not in the leaſt abate his intention of ruining thoſe in France.

Before

Before he came into the miniſtry, they had vainly treated with all the Italian princes, to hinder the houſe of Auſtria, which was at that time ſo powerful, from remaining in poſſeſſion of the Valteline*.

This little province, which was then of the catholic communion, belonged to the Griſon leaguers, who were proteſtants. The Spaniards wanted to join theſe vallies to the dutchy of Milan. The duke of Savoy and the Venetians, in concert with France, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed all addition of power to the houſe of Auſtria in Italy. At length pope Urban VIII. got the ſequeſtration of this province to be placed in his hands, and was not without hopes of keeping it altogether.

Monſieur de Marquemont wrote a long letter to Cardinal Richelieu, in which he ſet forth all the difficulties attending this affair. This latter anſwered him by the following famous epiſtle: "The king has changed his council, and the miniſtry its maxims: an army will be ſent to the Valteline, which will make his holineſs leſs wavering, and the Spaniard more tractable." Accordingly, the marquis of Cœuvres was immediately ſent to the Valteline, at the head of an army. No reſpect was ſhewn to the pope's colours, and the country was freed from the Auſtrian invaſion. This was the firſt event which rendered France of ſome conſideration abroad.

* The ſouth-eaſt ſubdiviſion of the Griſons, a fine valley and populous country in Switzerland, through which runs the river Adda.

Under the former adminiſtration there had been a continual complaint of want of money; but now enough was found to aſſiſt the Hollanders with a loan of three millions two hundred thouſand livres to put them in a condition to carry on the war againſt the Spaniſh branch of Auſtria, their ancient ſovereign. A ſum was likewiſe ſent to the famous count Mansfeldt *, who

* This was Erneſt, natural ſon of Peter Erneſtus III. count of Mansfeldt: he was bred a Roman Catholic at the court of Bruſſels, under his godfather the archduke Erneſt of Auſtria, and afterwards ſerved with reputation the king of Spain in the Low Countries, as well as the emperor in Hungary. About the year 1610, he quitted the Auſtrian ſervice in diſguſt, embraced Calviniſm, and engaged in the ſervice of the proteſtant princes. He was undoubtedly the moſt celebrated partizan of the age in which he lived: for though he was generally defeated in pitched battles, he always found reſources, by means of which he rendered himſelf a very formidable enemy. He was famous for ſurpriſing towns, routing detachments, traverſing provinces, and extricating himſelf out of the moſt dangerous difficulties. Never was there a captain more indefatigable and undaunted, more patient of hunger, cold, and fatigue, more dextrous at raiſing armies, or more fruitful in all the expedients of war. His friends called him the Ulyſſes of Germany, his enemies ſtiled him the Attila of Chriſtendom. He introduced the cuſtom of letting troops for hire; and kept them up at ſuch a price, that the Dutch uſed to ſay of him, *bonus in annilo, carus in pretio.* Being defeated at Deſſau by Walſtein the imperial general, he retired with his cavalry into the marche of Brandenbourg, and in a little time aſſembled another army of five and twenty thouſand men, with which he advanced into Hungary, with a view to join Bethlem Gabor; but this prince having made his peace with the emperor, left Mansfeldt's troops to periſh of cold and famine, among the mountains. The count being extremely chagrined, and finding his health impaired, gave up the remainder of his army to the duke of Saxe-Weymar,

who almoſt ſingly ſupported the cauſe of the palatine family and of the proteſtants, againſt the imperial houſe.

It was natural to expect, that after aſſiſting the proteſtants without doors, the Spaniſh miniſtry would ſtir up thoſe in France, and repay them (as Mirable the Spaniſh ambaſſador ſaid,) the money that had been lent to the Hollanders. Accordingly the Huguenots, protected and paid by Spain, renewed the civil war in France. It had been the ſtanding maxim of politics among the catholic princes ever ſince the time of Charles V. and Francis I. to aſſiſt the proteſtants in each other's kingdoms, and to perſecute them at home. During this new war againſt the duke of Rohan and his party, the cardinal ſtill went on negociating with thoſe powers he had inſulted; and neither the emperor Ferdinand II. nor the Spaniſh king Philip IV. attempted any thing againſt France.

Rochelle began now to become powerful. It had at that time almoſt as good a fleet as the king. It wanted to follow the example of the Dutch, and might have ſucceeded, had it found among the nations of its own faith an ally able or willing to furniſh it with proper aſſiſtance: but cardinal Richelieu took care in the firſt place to ſet the Dutch againſt it, who from the intereſt of religion ought to have aſſiſted it; and likewiſe the Engliſh, who, from intereſts of

Weymar, and ſet out on his journey to Venice; but was overtaken by death at a village in Dalmatia. Perceiving his end near, he cauſed himſelf to be armed at all points, and being held up by his attendants, died ſtanding, in the year 1626.

ſtate, were under a ſtronger obligation to defend it. The money which had already been given to the United Provinces, and what was farther promiſed, prevailed on them to equip a fleet againſt thoſe whom they called their brethren: thus the catholic king aſſiſted the French proteſtants with money, and the Dutch proteſtants fought for the Roman Catholic religion; while cardinal de Richelieu was driving the pope's troops from the Valteline
1625 in favour of the Griſon Huguenots.

It is matter of ſurprize, that Soubiſe at the head of the Rochelle fleet ſhould venture to attack the Dutch fleet off the iſle of Rhé, and gain an advantage over them who paſſed for
1625 the beſt ſeamen in the world. This ſucceſs would at any other time have made Rochelle an eſtabliſhed and powerful republic.

Lewis XIII. at that time had a good admiral, but no fleet. The cardinal on his coming to the miniſtry found every thing to new-model or to repair. It was impoſſible for him in the ſhort ſpace of a year to have eſtabliſhed a navy. It was with difficulty that he could even equip ten or twelve ſmall men of war. The duke of Montmorenci, the ſame who had afterwards ſo tragical an end, was at that time admiral: he was obliged to go on board the Dutch admiral's ſhip; and it was with the Dutch and Engliſh ſhips that he beat the Rochelleſe's fleet.

This victory ſhewed how neceſſary it was for France to make itſelf powerful both by ſea and land, while it had the Huguenot party to ſuppreſs at home, and the Auſtrian power to undermine in Europe. The miniſtry then granted a peace

a peace to the Huguenots, in order to have time to ſtrengthen itſelf.

Cardinal Richelieu had ſtill more powerful enemies to encounter at court. Not one of the princes of the blood liked him. Gaſton of Orleans, the king's brother, hated him mortally. Mary of Medicis began to look upon the creature of her raiſing with jealouſy. All the grandees caballed againſt him.

He took the place of admiral from the 1626
duke of Montmorenci, to beſtow it on himſelf under another name, and by this he made another irreconcileable enemy. Two ſons of Henry IV. Cæſar of Vendome, and the grand prior, attempted to oppoſe him; he had them confined in the caſtle of Vincennes. The marechal Ornano and Talleron Chalais, ſtirred up Gaſton the king's brother againſt him. He cauſed them to be accuſed of a deſign againſt the king himſelf. In this accuſation he included the duke of Soiſſons, Gaſton the king's brother, and the queen conſort.

One time the conſpirators were accuſed of a plot to take away the king's life, at another, that they had formed a deſign of declaring him impotent, of ſhutting him up in a cloiſter, and of giving his crown and wife to his brother Gaſton. Theſe two accuſations manifeſtly contradicted each other, and neither the one nor the other were probable. Their real crime was that of having joined to oppoſe the miniſter, and of having talked of taking away his life. The commiſſioners paſſed ſentence of death upon Chalais, and he was executed at Nantz. The marechal d'Ornano died in his confinement at Vincennes: the count of Soiſ-

ſons fled to Italy: the dutcheſs of Chevreuſe, to whom the cardinal had formerly paid his addreſſes, but whom he now accuſed of having joined in the cabal againſt him, eſcaped with difficulty from the guards, who were ſent to arreſt her, and fled over to England. Anne of Auſtria was ſummoned before the council, forbidden to ſpeak to any man, but in the preſence of the king her huſband, and compelled to ſign an acknowledgment of her guilt.

Diſtruſt, fear, and deſolation had now taken poſſeſſion of the royal family and the whole court. Lewis was now the moſt unhappy man in his kingdom; he was in continual apprehenſions of his wife and brother, uneaſy in his mother's preſence, whom he had formerly uſed ſo ill, and who every now and then let fall hints of her not having forgotten it; and ſtill more perplexed with the cardinal, whoſe yoke he already began to feel. The critical ſituation of affairs without doors was a freſh ſubject of uneaſineſs to him, and he found himſelf unavoidably linked to the cardinal by his fears and perplexities, by the neceſſity he was under of ſuppreſſing the cabals in his court, and of preſerving his credit with other nations.

Three miniſters, equally powerful, were at that time in a manner maſters of the fate of Europe; Olivarez in Spain, Buckingham in England, and Richelieu in France. They had all three a natural hatred to each other, and were at once negociating againſt one another. Cardinal de Richelieu quarrelled with the duke of Buckingham, at the very time that the Engliſh were ſupplying him with a fleet againſt the

the Rochellers, and joined with the count-duke Olivarez at the time that he was depriving the king of Spain of the Valteline.

Of theſe three miniſters the duke of Buckingham paſſed for the leaſt politic. He ſhone as a favourite and a nobleman, was liberal, open, and daring, but was not a ſtateſman. The maſtery he had gained over Charles I. was not owing to his intrigues, but to that aſcendency which he had had over the father, and which he ſtill retained over the ſon. He was the handſomeſt man of his time, the moſt generous, and the moſt proud. He fancied that no woman could reſiſt the charms of his perſon, nor man the ſuperiority of his underſtanding. Intoxicated with this double ſelf-love, he had carried Charles, while prince of Wales, into Spain, to marry the infanta, and that he himſelf might make a figure at that court. Here, by adding the Spaniſh gallantry to his own aſſurance, he attacked the wife of the prime miniſter Olivarez, and by this indiſcreet action hindred the prince's marriage. Being ſent afterwards to France in 1625, to conduct the princeſs Henrietta to England, whom he had procured for king Charles I. he was again on the point of making this deſign miſcarry by an indiſcretion of a ſtill bolder nature: he made a declaration to queen Anne of Auſtria, and made no ſecret of his paſſion for that princeſs, though he could expect nothing from this adventure but the vain honour of having dared to explain himſelf. The queen, who had been brought up in notions of gallantry, which were then allowed in Spain, looked upon the duke of Buckingham's

raſhneſs only as a homage paid to her beauty, which could not offend her virtue.

The pomp aſſumed by the duke of Buckingham was very diſpleaſing to the court of France, though without making him ridiculous; for greatneſs and aſſurance are not regarded in that light. He conducted the princeſs Henrietta to London, and carried back with him in his heart a paſſion for the queen, which was increaſed by the vanity of having declared it. This ſame vanity led him to venture upon a ſecond voyage to the court of France. The pretext was to make a treaty with the cardinal againſt the duke Olivarez, as the cardinal had before made a treaty with Olivarez againſt him. The true reaſon was, to be nearer the queen, which he ſufficiently ſhewed by all his behaviour: however, he was not only refuſed leave to ſee her, but the king diſcharged ſeveral of his wife's ſervants whom he ſuſpected of favouring the duke of Buckingham's deſigns. This Engliſhman then, at his return home, cauſed war to be declared againſt France, for no other reaſon than that he had been refuſed leave to declare his unjuſt paſſion. This adventure has the appearance of thoſe in the times of knight-errantry. So oddly are the affairs of the world connected, that the romantic amours of the duke of Buckingham produced a religious war, and the taking of Rochelle.

The leader of party takes advantage of all circumſtances. The duke of Rohan, whoſe deſigns were as deep as thoſe of Buckingham were weak and ſhallow, made uſe of this Engliſh-

liſhman's reſentment to obtain a fleet of an hundred armed ſhips and tranſports *, and engaged the Rochellers, who with the reſt of the party were then at peace, to receive a fleet of Engliſh ſhips not in the harbour of Rochelle, but in the iſle of Rhé. Buckingham himſelf makes a deſcent upon the iſland with about ſeven thouſand men. He had only a ſmall fort to take to make himſelf maſter of the iſland, and ſeparate Rochelle for ever from France. The Huguenot party would then have become unconquerable. The kingdom was divided, and all the mighty projects of cardinal Richelieu would have vaniſhed into air, had the duke of Buckingham been only half as great, or, at leaſt as fortunate a warrior as he was a bold and enterpriſing man.

The marquis, afterwards marechal de Thoiras, ſaved the reputation of France by keeping the iſle of Rhé with a ſmall body of troops againſt the ſuperior force of the July, 1627

* The ſeventh article of the duke's impeachment by the houſe of commons imports, "That he the ſaid duke, as admiral, did by indirect and ſubtle practices procure one of the principal ſhips of his majeſty's navy-royal, called the Vanguard, and ſix other merchant ſhips, to be put into the hands of the French king." To this charge he replied, "The article was ſo mixed with actions of great princes, that he dared not in his duty publiſh every paſſage thereof: but he could affirm that thoſe ſhips were lent to the French king at firſt without his privity; and when he knew it, he did that which belonged to an admiral of England, and a true Engliſhman." One cauſe aſſigned for the war which the king this very year declared againſt France was, the moſt chriſtian king's employing againſt his proteſtant ſubjects of Rochelle, the Engliſh ſhips which were lent by treaty, expreſsly on condition that they ſhould only aſſiſt the French on the coaſt of Italy.

Engliſh, and gave Lewis XIII. time to ſend an army before Rochelle. The command was at firſt given to the king's brother, Gaſton; but the king himſelf ſoon joined it in perſon, accompanied by the cardinal. Buckingham was obliged to return to England, after having loſt half his army, without being able to throw any ſuccours into Rochelle, where his appearance had only ſerved to haſten its ruin. The duke of Rohan, who had inſtigated the Rochellers to take up arms, was abſent from the town, and engaged in carrying on the war in Languedoc, againſt the prince of Condé and the duke of Montmorenci.

All three generals were fighting for their own intereſt: the duke of Rohan to continue himſelf at the head of a party; the prince of Condé at the head of the king's army, and to recover his credit at court, and the duke of Montmorenci to keep the command of the troops which he had raiſed of his own authority, to make himſelf maſter in Languedoc, of which he was governor, and to raiſe an independent fortune, as Leſdiguieres had done. Rochelle then had only itſelf to depend upon. The citizens, animated by religion and liberty, thoſe two powerful motives with the populace, elected one Guiton their mayor, who was, if any thing, rather more determined than themſelves. This man, before he would accept an office which gave him the chief command both in civil and military affairs, took a poinard, and holding it in his hand, "I accept, ſaid he, the place of your mayor, only on condition of ſtriking this poniard to the heart of the firſt who ſhall talk of ſur-

ſurrendering; and that it be in like manner uſed againſt me, if ever I think of capitulating."

While Rochelle was thus preparing for the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, cardinal Richelieu made uſe of every reſource to reduce it, by building ſhips with the moſt ſurpriſing expedition, procuring a reinforcement of men and artillery, and even aſſiſtance from Spain, by taking a ſpeedy advantage of the animoſity between duke Olivarez and Buckingham, employing the cauſe of religion, and making the moſt ſpecious promiſes, and obtaining a fleet from the king of Spain, at that time the natural enemy to France. To take from the Rochellers all hopes of aſſiſtance from England, the count-duke ſent Frederick of Toledo with forty ſail of ſhips before the port of Rochelle.

The Spaniſh admiral arrives: but would one believe that theſe ſuccours were rendered uſeleſs by a mere matter of ceremony, and that Lewis XIII. ſuffered the Spaniſh fleet to return home becauſe he would not permit its admiral to be covered in his preſence? Whether an affair of ſo much importance was determined by this trivial circumſtance, as too frequently happens, or that the court of Spain had taken umbrage at ſome new diſputes relating to the Mantuan ſucceſſion, its fleet juſt appeared and returned back again.

The duke of Buckingham was fitting out a new armament to deliver the town, and he might in a very ſhort time have rendered all the efforts of the French king fruitleſs. It has always been the opinion of the court, that cardinal Richelieu warded off this blow by taking advan-

advantage of Buckingham's paſſion for Anne of Auſtria, and that he prevailed upon the queen to write to that duke. It is ſaid that ſhe requeſted of him only to ſuſpend the embarkation of his troops for a little time; and that Buckingham ſuffered his weakneſs to prevail over his honour and reputation.

This anecdote may poſſibly be falſe; but it has gained ſo much credit, that we cannot diſpenſe with relating it: it is perfectly agreeable to the known character of Buckingham, and the ſpirit of court-politics at that time; and we cannot otherwiſe account for Buckingham's contenting himſelf with ſending only a few veſſels *, which ſhewed themſelves before the town to no purpoſe, and returned again into their own ports.

It is no leſs aſtoniſhing to ſee the cardinal commanding alone at this ſiege, after the king's return to Paris. He had a general's commiſſion, and this was his firſt eſſay in the military art. He now gave proofs that reſolution and genius can overcome all things, being as exact in preſerving diſcipline among the troops, as he was careful in eſtabliſhing a good police in Paris, and both the one and the other were

* A fleet of fifty ſhips, having on board two thouſand landmen, was equipped, and ſailed under the command of the earl of Denbigh, who found twenty ſail of French ſhips riding at anchor before the harbour of Rochelle, and might have deſtroyed them with great eaſe; but, inſtead of attacking the enemy, he weighed anchor and ſailed away to Plymouth, where one Le Brun, a Frenchman, who commanded an Engliſh ſhip, made ſome depoſitions that implied a charge of cowardice or treachery.

equally

equally difficult. Rochelle could not be reduced ſo long as its port was open to the Engliſh fleet; it was therefore neceſſary to ſhut it up by ſubduing the ſea. In the foregoing civil war, when Lewis XIII. had a deſign to beſiege this place, juſt as the peace was concluded, one Pompeio Targoni, an Italian engineer, had contrived a barricado to keep out the ſea. The cardinal followed this plan, but the ſea ſoon threw down the works; he, not in the leaſt diſcouraged, began them anew. He carried a mole, near ſeven thouſand four hundred feet in length, into the ſea; this was deſtroyed by the winds: nevertheleſs he ſtill perſiſted, and having his Quintus Curtius with him, with the deſcription of the mole which Alexander the Great raiſed acroſs the harbour of Tyre, he ſet his people to work again; and at length, by the labour and vigilance of Meteſan and Tercan, two French engineers, the mole was put into a condition to reſiſt the winds and waves.

Lewis XIII. now repaired in perſon to the ſiege, and remained there from the month of March 1628, till the place was reduced. He was frequently preſent at the attacks, and encouraged his officers by his example, and haſtened the finiſhing of the great work of the mole. Yet ſtill they were in apprehenſion of the arrival of another Engliſh fleet, which would deſtroy all they had been about. Fortune however favoured their undertakings. The duke of Buckingham, when juſt ready to ſail with a formidable fleet to the March, 1628.

aſſiſtance

September, 1628. assistance of Rochelle, is stabbed by an * Irish fanatic, without its being ever discovered who set him on.

Nevertheless Rochelle, though destitute of assistance and even of provisions, still maintained a courageous defence. The citizens were inspired by the example of the mother and sister of the duke of Rohan, who suffered the greatest extremity of want in common with the rest. As some unhappy wretches, ready to expire with hunger, were bewailing their calamitous situation before the mayor Guiton, he told them, "That if one man only was left alive, he ought to keep the gates fast."

The besieged found their hopes somewhat revived at the sight of the fleet which had been fitted out by Buckingham, and which now appeared under the command of admiral Lindsey. The English were not able to break through the mole, and their ships were scattered by forty large pieces of cannon, which had been mounted

* This was John Felton, who had been lieutenant of infantry, and disappointed in his expectation of a captain's commission. He certainly was a fanatic; but, in this case, his revenge seems to have co-operated with his enthusiasm. The duke was walking with sir Thomas Frier through an entry from one apartment to another, when Felton stabbed him with a knife, which he left sticking in the wound. Buckingham exclaimed "The villain hath killed me!" and pulling out the knife, dropped dead on the floor. The assassin might have escaped; but he seemed to glory in his crime, and surrendered himself immediately to justice. He had pinned on the lining of his hat an inscription, declaring his only motive to this action, was the late remonstrance of the commons against the duke; for he thought he could not sacrifice his life in a nobler cause than in delivering his country from such an enemy.

on

on a wooden fort built in the ſea. Lewis was in perſon in this fort, and expoſed himſelf to the fire of the enemy's fleet, which was obliged to retire, after finding all its efforts to relieve the town ineffectual.

Famine at length ſubdued the courage of the Rochellers; and, after a whole year's ſiege, which they had ſuſtained by themſelves, they were obliged to ſurrender, notwithſtanding the mayor's poniard, which always lay upon the table in the town-hall, ready to pierce the heart of him who ſhould mention a capitulation. And here it may not be improper to remark, that neither Lewis XIII. as king, cardinal Richelieu as miniſter, nor the marechals of France as officers of the crown, ſigned the articles of capitulation, but only two field-marſhals. Rochelle was only deprived of its privileges, and no one loſt his life. The Roman catholic religion was eſtabliſhed in the town, and the country round about, and the inhabitants were left to their Calviniſm, as the only thing which they had remaining. Oct. 28, 1628.

The cardinal was determined not to leave his work unfiniſhed; he marched into the other provinces of the kingdom, where the reformed had ſeveral ſtrong holds, and where their numbers were ſtill formidable. He knew that he muſt ſubdue and diſarm the Huguenot party entirely, before he could be at liberty to employ his whole ſtrength againſt the houſe of Auſtria in Germany, Flanders, Italy, and Spain. It was requiſite that the ſtate ſhould be in unity and peace at home, in order to diſturb the quiet of other ſtates.

The

The intereſting affair of giving a duke to Mantua, that might be dependent on France inſtead of Spain, after the death of the laſt prince, had already invited the arms of France into Italy. Guſtavus Adolphus at the ſame time was meditating the invaſion of Germany, and he was to be ſupported.

In this intricate ſituation of affairs the duke of Rohan, who ſtill continued firm amidſt the ruins of his party, makes a treaty with the king of Spain, who promiſes to give him aſſiſtance, after having furniſhed ſuccours againſt him the very year before. Philip IV. after conſulting his council of conſcience, promiſes a yearly penſion of thirty thouſand ducats to the chief of the Huguenot party in France; but the money came ſlowly, and the king's troops laid all Languedoc waſte. Privas was given up to plunder, and all who were found in it ſlain. The duke of Rohan, unable to carry on the war, ſtill found means to make a general peace for his party on as good terms as he could; and the ſame man who had but lately entered into a treaty with the king of Spain, in quality of head of a party, now treats in the ſame character with the king of France, his maſter, at the very time that he ſtands condemned by the parliament as a rebel; and, after having received money from the Spaniſh court to maintain his troops, he demands and receives

1628 100,000 crowns from Lewis XIII. to complete their pay and diſmiſs them.

The other proteſtant towns in France had the like treatment with Rochelle; their fortifications were demoliſhed, and they were deprived of all thoſe privileges which might prove dan-

dangerous; they were allowed liberty of conſcience, and the uſe of their churches, municipal laws, and chambers of edicts, which could not do any hurt. Every thing was appeaſed; and the powerful Calviniſtical party, inſtead of eſtabliſhing a ſtate, was diſarmed and depreſſed beyond recovery. Switzerland and Holland were not ſo powerful as this party when they erected themſelves into independent ſovreignties; Geneva, which was far leſs conſiderable, made itſelf free, and continued ſo; and yet the proteſtants of France fell in the attempt. The reaſon was, that the party itſelf was diſperſed in its provinces; that one half of the people and the parliaments were catholics; that the royal army ſent againſt them found their country open and defenceleſs; that they were attacked by troops much ſuperior and better diſciplined than their own; and laſtly, that they had to deal with cardinal Richelieu.

Lewis XIII. whoſe character is not ſufficiently known, never gained ſo much perſonal reputation as at this juncture; for, after the taking of Rochelle, while his armies were reducing the Hungarians to obedience, he ſupported his allies in Italy; he marched over the Alps to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Mantua, in the midſt of a ſevere winter, March, 1629 forced three barricadoes in the paſs of Suza, made himſelf maſter of that town, obliged the duke of Savoy to join him, and drove the Spaniards out of Caſſel.

In the mean while the cardinal de Richelieu was treating with all the crowned heads of Europe, and againſt the greater part of them. He ſent a capuchin friar to the diet of Ratiſbon, to impoſe

impoſe upon the Germans, and to tye up the emperor's hands from meddling in the affairs of Italy. At the ſame time Charnaſſé was employed to encourage Guſtavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, to invade Germany; a project to which Guſtavus was already very well diſpoſed. While Richelieu was thus trying to ſhake all Europe, the cabal of the king's brother and the two queens vainly attempted to ruin him at court. His great credit occaſioned as much diſturbance in the cabinet, as his intrigues excited diſorders in other kingdoms. We muſt not ſuppoſe that theſe commotions at court were the effects of a deep policy or well concerted deſigns, which united a party ſkilfully formed for overthowing him, and raiſing a perſon in his room worthy of ſucceeding him. Theſe fatal diviſions were for the moſt part produced by a humour which frequently governs men, even in the greateſt affairs. The queen-mother, though ſhe ſtill kept her place in the council, and had been regent of the provinces on this ſide the Loire, during her ſon's expedition to Rochelle, was exaſperated againſt the cardinal, who affected to appear no longer dependent on her. The memorial drawn up in defence of this prin-
ceſs takes notice, that the cardi-
1629 nal coming one day to pay his court to her, and her majeſty enquiring after his health, he replied, with his eyes flaming with anger, and his lips trembling, "I am better than ſome here would wiſh me to be." The queen expreſſed her indignation at his inſolence: the cardinal flew in a paſſion; he afterwards aſked pardon, and the queen grew pacified; and two days afterwards they quarrelled again, that

that policy which ſometimes ſubdues the paſſions in the cabinet, not being always maſter of them in converſation.

Mary of Medicis at that time took from the cardinal the place of comptroller of her houſhold. The firſt fruit of this quarrel was the patent for prime miniſter, which the king made out with his own hand for the cardinal, and addreſſed to him, extolling his valour and magnanimity, and leaving a blank ſpace for the ſalary of the office, to be filled up by the cardinal himſelf. He was already high admiral of France, under the title of comptroller of navigation; and, after depriving the Huguenots of their ſtrong holds, he ſecured to himſelf Saumur, Angers, Honfleur, Havre-de-grace, and the iſles of Oleron and Rhé, which became ſo many cautionary places in his hands againſt his enemies. He was attended by guards, and his pomp eclipſed that of the crown: he was accompanied with all the exteriors of royalty, and all authority was veſted in him. Nov. 21. 1629

The ſituation of affairs in Europe made him more neceſſary than ever to his maſter and the ſtate; the emperor Ferdinand II. ſince the battle of Prague, had made himſelf deſpotic in Germany, and was become very powerful in Italy. His troops were at that time beſieging Mantua; Savoy was wavering between France and the houſe of Auſtria; the marquis of Spinola was in the dutchy of Milan with a Spaniſh army. The cardinal reſolved to oppoſe Spinola himſelf; he procures a patent creating him generaliſſimo of the army deſtined for Italy, and the king in this patent orders the ſame obedience

dience to be paid to him as to his own perſon. Thus this prime miniſter exerciſing the office of conſtable, and having under him two mare-
1630 chals of France, marches into Savoy. He enters into a treaty on his march; but in the character of a crowned head, and inſiſts upon the duke's coming to Lyons to meet him: this however was refuſed. The French army makes itſelf maſter of Chamberry
1630 and Pignerol in two days. At length the king himſelf ſets out for Savoy, taking with him the two queens, his brother, and a whole court, declared enemies to the cardinal, who only arrive to be witneſſes to his triumphs. The cardinal comes back to Grenoble to meet the king, and they march together into Savoy.
July, 1630 Lewis XIII. is ſeized with an epidemical diſorder, and returns to Lyons. At this juncture the duke of Montmorenci, with a handful of men, gains a ſignal victory over the conjoined army of Imperialiſts, Spaniards, and Savoyards, at Vegliana, and wounds and takes priſoner with his own hand their general Doria. This action crowned him with glory, and the king wrote to him in theſe terms: "I think myſelf as much obliged to you, as a king can be to a ſubject." This obligation however did not prevent this great man from being brought to the ſcaffold two years afterwards.

There was nothing leſs than ſuch a victory required to ſupport the intereſt and reputation of France, at a time that the Imperialiſts had taken and ſacked Mantua, were purſuing the duke which Lewis XIII. protected, and had beaten the Venetians, his allies. The cardi-

nal, whoſe greateſt enemies were thoſe he had at court, left the duke of Montmorenci to fight againſt the enemies of the kingdom, and applied himſelf to obſerve the motions of thoſe he himſelf had about the king. This monarch was then dangerouſly ill at Lyons, inſomuch that his life was deſpaired of. The confidents of the queen-conſort, who were too much in a hurry, already began to propoſe to Gaſton to marry his brother's wife, who was in all appearance on the point of becoming a widow. The cardinal made preparations for retiring to Avignon. The king recovered, and thoſe who had founded their hopes on his death were confounded. The cardinal followed him to Paris, where he found more intrigues than there were in Italy, between the empire, Spain, Venice, Savoy, Rome, and France.

Mirabel, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, had joined with the two queens againſt him. The two brothers of the name of Marillac, the one marechal of France, and the other keeper of the ſeals, who were indebted to him for their preferments, flattered themſelves with the hopes of ruining him, and ſucceeding in his credit. The marſhal of Baſſompiere, without pretending to any thing, was in their ſecret. The king's firſt valet de chambre, Beringhen, communicated to the cabal all that paſſed in the king's apartment. The queen-mother a ſecond time deprives the cardinal of his place of comptroller of her houſhold, which ſhe had been obliged to reſtore to him; an office which the cardinal looked upon as beneath his dignity and pride, but which that pride would not ſuffer him to loſe. His niece, afterwards dutcheſs of Aiguillon,

lon, was diſmiſſed; and Mary of Medicis, by dint of reiterated entreaties and complaints, obtained her ſon's promiſe to diveſt him of the miniſtry.

There was nothing more in theſe intrigues than what we every day meet with in the houſes of private perſons who have a great number of ſervants; they were common trifles; but here the fate of France, and even of Europe, depended on them. The private treaties with the Italian princes, with Guſtavus Adolphus king of Sweden, with the United Provinces and the princes of Orange, againſt the emperor and Spain, were in the hands of Richelieu, and could not be taken from thence without endangering the ſtate. Nevertheleſs, the king's weakneſs, with the inward diſlike he had taken to the cardinal on account of his ſuperiority, determined him to give up this neceſſary miniſter, and, overcome by the obſtinate ſolicitations and tears of his mother, he promiſed to diſgrace him. The cardinal entered by a back-door into the room where they were concluding his ruin; the king roſe and left the apartment without ſpeaking to him; he now looked upon himſelf as loſt, and prepared for a retreat to Havre-de-Grace, as he had a few months before done to retire to Avignon. His ruin appeared the more certain, as the king the ſame day gave the marechal de Marillac, the cardinal's declared enemy, a power to make peace and war in Piedmont. Then the cardinal prepared in earneſt for his departure; he had already ſent his riches five and twenty leagues off, on mules, with orders not to paſs through any town, a

Nov. 10, 1630

precaution he had taken against the hatred of the populace. His friends adviſe him to try one effort more with the king.

The cardinal accordingly goes to the king at Verſailles, which was at that time a ſmall hunting-ſeat which Lewis XIII. had bought for twenty thouſand crowns, and which has ſince been made by Lewis XIV. one of the nobleſt palaces in Europe, at an immenſe expence. The king, who had ſacrificed his miniſter thro' weakneſs, by the ſame weakneſs puts himſelf again into his hands, and gives up to him all thoſe who had plotted his ruin. This day, which ſtill goes by the name of the day of dupes, fixed the cardinal's abſolute power. The very next morning the keeper of the ſeals was arreſted and committed priſoner to Chateaudun, Nov. 11, 1630 where he died with grief. The ſame day the cardinal diſpatched a meſſenger of ſtate, in the king's name, to the two marechals, de la Force and Schomberg, with orders to arreſt the marechal de Marillac, at the head of the army of which he was going to take the ſole command. The meſſenger arrives an hour after the marechal had received the news of Richelieu's diſgrace, and he finds himſelf a priſoner in the very inſtant that he thought himſelf maſter of the ſtate, in conjunction with his brother. Richelieu reſolved to bring this general to an ignominious death by the hand of the executioner, for extortion: the trial laſted near two years. We muſt relate the conſequences that attended it, in this place, to avoid breaking in upon the thread of this affair, and to ſhew what revenge can effect when armed with

ſupreme power, and coloured with the appearances of juſtice.

The cardinal was not ſatisfied with depriving the marechal of the right of being tried by the courts of parliament aſſembled, a right which had been ſo often violated, nor with having appointed commiſſioners to try him at Verdun, on whoſe ſeverity he thought he might depend. Theſe firſt judges having, notwithſtanding the threats and promiſes uſed to work upon them, agreed to admit the criminal to juſtify himſelf; the cardinal annulled the ſentence, and appointed other judges, among whom were Marillac's moſt inveterate enemies; in particular Paul Hay du Chaſtelet, known by the bitter ſatire he wrote againſt the two brothers. Never was greater contempt ſhewn to the forms of juſtice and common decency, than by the cardinal on this occaſion, who had the priſoner removed to his own country-houſe, where the trial was carried on in his preſence.

It is expreſsly forbidden by the laws of the kingdom to detain any one priſoner in a private houſe; but there were no laws againſt powerful revenge. The laws of the church were as little reſpected as thoſe of the ſtate, and decency. The new keeper of the ſeals, Chateauneuf, who had lately ſucceeded the priſoner's brother, ſate as preſident of the court, where decency forbid his appearance; and tho' a ſub-deacon, and poſſeſſed of benefices, he preſided at a criminal proceſs; the cardinal had procured a diſpenſation from Rome, in virtue of which he had the power of paſſing ſentence of death.

This

This trial shews us, that the lives of the unfortunate depend on a desire of pleasing men in power. The most minute actions of the marechal's life were enquired into. They pretended to have discovered some abuses in the exercise of his command, some illicit though customary profits, which he had formerly made either by himself or his servants, in the building the citadel of Verdun. "It is an unheard of thing, said he to his judges, that a man of my rank should be prosecuted with so much rigour and injustice; my whole trial relates to nothing but hay, straw, stones, and lime."

Nevertheless, this general, covered with wounds, and bending beneath the servitude of forty years, was condemned to die, under the same king who had bestowed rewards on thirty subjects, who had been in open rebellion against him.

During the first preparations for this strange trial, the cardinal ordered Beringhen to leave the kingdom, and imprisoned all those who had attempted to overthrow him, or of whom he had the least suspicion. This display of a revenge as mean as cruel, seemed little to agree with a mind occupied with the fate of Europe.

At that time he concluded that treaty with Gustavus Adolphus against Frederick II. which was intended to shake the imperial throne. It cost France only three hundred thousand livres per annum, to sow divisions in Germany, and to oppress both emperors at once till the peace of Westphalia; and Gustavus Adolphus had already entered upon the course of his victories, which gave France all the time and liberty it

could deſire to eſtabliſh its greatneſs, and to ſecure its own peace by the troubles of other nations; but the miniſter, by his want of moderation, excited the public hatred againſt him, and made his enemies implacable. Gaſton duke of Orleans, the king's brother, fled from court to his appenage of Orleans, and from thence to Lorraine, proteſting that he would never ſet foot in the kingdom ſo long as the cardinal, the perſecutor of himſelf and his mother, continued at the helm of affairs. Richelieu cauſed all the friends and adherents of the duke to be declared guilty of high treaſon, by a decree of council. This decree was ſent to the parliament to be regiſtered; the voices were divided on this occaſion. The king, incenſed at this diviſion, ſent for the parliament to the Louvre, who went thither on foot, and addreſſed the king upon their knees. The act of diviſion was torn before their faces, and three of the principal members were baniſhed.

The cardinal was not contented with ſupporting his authority, now connected with that of his maſter, in this arbitrary manner. Having forced the preſumptive heir of the crown to fly the kingdom, he made no ſcruple of cauſing the queen-mother to be put under arreſt. This was a delicate undertaking, conſidering that the king had already repented of his behaviour to his mother, and of having ſacrificed her to a favourite. The cardinal made uſe of arguments of ſtate to ſtifle the voice of nature in the king, and ſet all the engines of religion to work to quiet his ſcruples. On this occaſion, he employed the talents of father Joſeph du Tremblay, a capuchin, as extraordinary a perſonage

ſonage in his way as Richelieu himſelf; he was a cunning enthuſiaſt, who could occaſionally be either the fanatic or the impoſtor, and who attempted at one and the ſame time to ſet up a cruſade againſt the Turks, to found the order of the nuns of mount Calvary, to turn poet and negociator, and to raiſe himſelf to the purple and the miniſtry. This man, being admitted into one of the private councils of conſcience, invented to do evil under the appearance of good, undertook to prove to the king, that he not only might, but ought to put it out of his mother's power to oppoſe his miniſter. The court was then at Compeigne; the king quitted it, and left his mother ſurrounded with guards, who prevented her from ſtirring. Her friends, creatures, and ſervants, and even her own phyſician, were ſent to the Baſtile and other priſons. The Baſtile was always full during this adminiſtration; the marechal de Baſſompiere, only for being ſuſpected of not being in the cardinal's intereſt, was ſhut up there during the life of that miniſter. February, 1631

From that time Mary never ſaw her ſon nor Paris more, that city which ſhe had beautified with the famous palace called the Luxembourg, with noble aqueducts unknown till her time, and with the fine public walk which ſtill goes by the name of the Queen's. Continually a prey to favourites, ſhe paſſed the reſt of her days in a voluntary but unhappy exile. The widow of Henry the Great, the mother of a king of France, and the mother-in-law of three crowned heads, wanted ſometimes the neceſſaries of life. The foundation of all theſe July, 1631

quarrels was, that Lewis XIII. would be governed, and that he choſe rather to be governed by his miniſter than his mother.

This Queen, who had ſo long governed the kingdom, fled firſt to Bruſſels; and, from her aſylum there, calls to her ſon and the ſupreme courts of the kingdom for juſtice againſt her enemy. She becomes a petitioner to that parliament, (of Paris) whoſe remonſtrances ſhe had ſo often rejected while regent, and ſent back from her preſence to confine themſelves to the trial of cauſes: ſo ſtrongly does our way of thinking change with our fortunes. Her petition is ſtill to be ſeen in theſe terms: "The petition of Mary, queen of France and Navarre, ſheweth, that, ſince February 23, ſhe has been detained priſoner in the caſtle of Compeigne, without being accuſed or ſuſpected of, &c." The repeated complaints preferred againſt the cardinal by the queen's friends, loſt great part of their force by being too ſtrongly urged, and becauſe thoſe who dictated them for her, by mingling their own grievances with her ſorrows, joined too many falſe accuſations with the true ones; in ſhort, ſhe only added to her misfortunes by complaining of them.

1631 The miniſter anſwered the queen's repreſentations againſt him, by getting himſelf created a duke and peer, and appointed governor of Brittany. Every thing ſeconded his wiſhes, not only in the kingdom, but alſo in Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands. Julius Mazarine, who had been employed by the pope as his miniſter in the affair of Mantua, was now become the miniſter of France, by his happy dexterity in negociations; and, by ſerving cardinal

dinal de Richelieu, he, without foreſeeing it, laid the foundation of that fortune which afterwards made him that miniſter's ſucceſſor. An advantageous treaty had lately been made with Savoy, by which that ſtate ceded Pignerol for ever to France.

In the Low Countries the prince of Orange, by the aſſiſtance of the money he received from the French court, made ſeveral conqueſts upon the Spaniards, and the cardinal had intelligence even in Bruſſels.

In Germany, the extraordinary ſucceſs of Guſtavus's arms contributed to augment the merit of the cardinal's ſervices in France. In a word, the uninterrupted proſperity of his adminiſtration deprived all his enemies of the power to hurt him, and left him at full liberty to purſue his revenge, which the good of the ſtate ſeemed to authorize. He erected a court of juſtice, which paſſed ſentence againſt all the friends and adherents of the queen-mother and the king's brother. The number of proſcribed was prodigious; not a day paſſed without ſeeing gibbets loaded with the figures in effigy of thoſe of both ſexes, who had followed the fortunes, or ſhared in the councils of the two royal exiles; ſearch was made after ſome phyſicians and drawers of nativities, who had ſaid that the king had not long to live, and two were actually ſent to the galleys. In ſhort, the queen-mother's eſtates, and even her dowry, were confiſcated; who thereupon wrote thus to her ſon: "I am not willing to charge you with the ſeizure of my eſtates, nor the inventory which has been taken of them, as if I was already dead; I can never believe that

1631 you would deprive her of nourishment who gave you your life."

The whole kingdom murmured at these proceedings, but no one dared to speak out. Those who would have taken part with the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans, were withheld by their fears. The mareehal duke of Montmorenci, who was governor of Languedoc, was the only one who at that time thought himself sufficiently powerful to withstand the cardinal's fortune, and to set himself up as the head of a party; but his great courage was not alone sufficient to support this dangerous part. He was not master of two provinces, like Lesdiguieres, who had found means to make himself absolute in Dauphiny; his prodigality had put it out of his power to purchase a number of dependents, and his love of pleasure and amusement did not suffer him to attend wholly to business. In a word, to be the head of a party, he should have had a party, but he had none.

Gaston gave him the flattering title of avenger of the royal family. They thought themselves sure of the assistance of Charles IV. duke of Lorraine, whose sister the duke of Orleans had married; but Charles could not defend himself against Lewis, who had already made himself master of part of his dominions. The court of Spain gave the king's brother hopes of an army in the Netherlands and at Treves, to lead into France; but he with difficulty got together three thousand German horsemen, whom he could not pay, and who lived entirely upon plunder. It was supposed, that as soon as he appeared in France with this handful of men,

all

all the nation was to join him; inſtead of which, not one ſtirred in his favour during his whole march, from the borders of Franche Compté to the provinces of the Loire, and as far as Languedoc. He hoped likewiſe that the duke of Epernon, who had marched over the whole kingdom to deliver the queen his mother, and who had carried on a war, and afterwards concluded a peace, in her favour, would now declare for that queen whoſe cauſe he had ſo warmly ſupported, and for one of her ſons, the preſumptive heir of the crown, againſt a miniſter, whoſe pride had ſo frequently mortified his own. This reſource, however, powerful as it ſeemed, failed as others had done. The duke of Epernon, who had almoſt ruined himſelf in aſſiſting the queen-mother, complained of having been neglected by her, after ſuch eſſential ſervices. He hated the cardinal more than any perſon living, but at the ſame time he began to fear him.

The prince of Condé, who had engaged in a war to oppoſe the marechal d'Ancre when miniſter of ſtate, was far from thinking of declaring againſt Richelieu; he yielded to this miniſter's genius, and, ſolely intent upon making his own fortune, ſolicited the command of the army on the other ſide the Loire, againſt his brother-in-law, Montmorenci. The count of Soiſſons had then only an impotent hatred to the cardinal, and did not dare to declare himſelf.

The duke of Orleans thus deſerted, only becauſe he was not ſtrong enough, traverſed the kingdom more like a fugitive at the head of a foreign banditti, than a prince marching to

give battle to a king. At length he comes to Languedoc, where he is joined by the duke of Montmorenci with ſix or ſeven thouſand men, which he called an army, and which he had raiſed partly at his own expence, and partly by promiſes. Diſcord, which always inſinuates itſelf into parties, weakened theſe forces almoſt as ſoon as they were gathered together. The duke of Elbeuf, Gaſton's favourite, wanted to ſhare the command with Montmorenci, who had been at all the charge and trouble, and was in his own government.

The very day of the battle of Caſtlenaudari was opened by a diſpute between Gaſton and Montmorenci. This could hardly be called a battle; it was an encounter, a ſkirmiſh, in which the duke fell upon a ſmall detachment of the royal army, commanded by marechal Schomberg; and, whether through his natural impetuoſity, through vexation and deſpair, or by having drank too freely, which was but too common at that time, he leaped a large ditch, followed only by five or ſix of his people. This was fighting like the old knight-errants, and not like a general. After breaking through ſeveral of the enemy's ranks, he fell to the ground wounded, and was taken in ſight of the duke of Orleans and his little army, who made not the leaſt motion to aſſiſt him.

Sept. 1, 1631

There was another of Henry IV.'s ſons preſent at this battle beſides Gaſton; this was the count of Moret, the natural iſſue of that monarch and mademoiſelle de Beuil, who ventured his perſon more than the lawful heir, and would not quit Montmorenci, but was ſlain fighting

fighting by his ſide. This is the ſame count of Moret whom report afterwards brought to life and made an hermit; an idle ſtory which was blended with theſe fatal events.

The taking of Montmorenci totally diſpirited Gaſton, and diſperſed the army which he owed wholly to that nobleman.

The prince had now nothing left but to ſubmit. The court ſent Bullion, counſellor of ſtate, and comptroller of the finances, to him, with a promiſe of Montmorenci's pardon. Nevertheleſs this pardon was not ſtipulated in the treaty the king made with his brother, or rather the amneſty he granted him: it is not acting nobly to deceive the weak and unfortunate; but the cardinal was bent upon humbling the king's brother, and putting Montmorenci to death. Gaſton himſelf promiſed in an article of this treaty, "To love the cardinal de Richelieu."

The fatal end of the marechal duke of Montmorenci * is well known. His puniſhment was juſt, though that of the marechal de Marillac's had not been ſo. But the death of ſo hopeful an officer, who, by his great courage, generoſity, and amiable qualifications, had gained the

* He was tried at Tholouſe before commiſſioners, of whom the chief was an eccleſiaſtic, monſieur de l'Aubeſtine de Chateauneuf, who obtained a diſpenſation from the pope for being preſent as judge at a trial for life; but this diſpenſation could not ſcreen him from the guilt of ingratitude, in condemning a nobleman to whoſe father he had been page. The duke de Montmorenci was beheaded at Tholouſe, on the thirtieth day of October, in the year 1631, and fell univerſally regretted, as the moſt accompliſhed and amiable nobleman in France.

love and eſteem of all France, made the cardinal more odious than that of Marillac had done. It has been ſaid, that when he was committed to priſon, a bracelet was found on his arm with the picture of Mary of Medicis. This circumſtance always paſſed for certain with the court, and is perfectly agreeable to the ſpirit of the times. Madam de Motteville, that princeſs's confident, acknowledges in her memoirs, that the duke of Montmorenci had, like Buckingham, prided himſelf in being touched with her charms. It was the Spaniſh Galanteria*, ſomewhat like the Italian Ciciſbei, the remains of chivalry, which however did not at all contribute to abate the ſeverity of Lewis XIII.

Oct. 30, 1632 Montmorenci, before he went to death, bequeathed a famous picture of Carrachio to the cardinal. This was not the ſpirit of the times, but a new turn of thinking inſpired by the approach of death, and looked upon by ſome as an inſtance of Chriſtian magnanimity, and by others as weakneſs.

Nov. 15, 1631 The king's brother, after returning to France only to ſee his friend and protector die upon the ſcaffold, and himſelf baniſhed from the court as a favour, and in hourly apprehenſion for his liberty, once more left the kingdom, and fled to Spain, where he joined his mother in Bruſſels.

Under any other adminiſtration, a queen and the preſumptive heir of the crown, fled for refuge in an enemy's country, the general diſcontent that prevailed among all orders of the ſtate, and the blood of an hundred families to

be

be revenged, would have diſtracted the kingdom under the new circumſtances in which Europe then was. Guſtavus Adolphus, the ſcourge of the houſe of Auſtria, had been killed in the battle of Lutzen near Leipſick in the midſt of his victories; and the emperor, freed from that powerful enemy, might, in conjunction with Spain, have overwhelmed France; but, what had hardly ever happened, the Swedes maintained themſelves in a ſtrange country even after the death of their chief. Germany was likewiſe a prey to the ſame bloody troubles as before, and the Spaniſh monarchy was every day growing weaker. All cabals then muſt neceſſarily ſink beneath the cardinal's power, and yet not a day paſſed without intrigues and factions, of which he was the chief cauſe himſelf, by thoſe private weakneſſes which are always intermingled with important affairs; and which, in deſpite of the artifices uſed to diſguiſe them, diſcover the littleneſſes of grandeur. It is pretended that the dutcheſs of Chevreuſe, who was always intriguing and ſtill preſerved her charms, had by her artifices drawn in the cardinal to have that paſſion for her with which ſhe wanted to inſpire him, and that ſhe made a ſacrifice of him to Chateauneuf, the keeper of the ſeals. The commander de Jars, and others, had likewiſe a ſhare in her confidence. Queen Anne, Lewis's conſort, had no other conſolation in the loſs of her credit at court, but that of aſſiſting the dutcheſs of Chevreuſe to make him contemptible whom ſhe could not otherwiſe deſtroy. The dutcheſs pretended to have an inclination Nov. 16, 1632

for

for the cardinal, and formed her intrigues in expectation of his death, which frequent diſorders had made as near in appearance as ſhe could wiſh. A term of reproach which the cabal always made uſe of in mentioning the cardinal, was what offended him the moſt *.

The keeper of the ſeals was impriſoned without form of trial, becauſe they could not bring him to trial. The commander de Jars, and others, who were accuſed of maintaining a ſecret correſpondence with the queen-mother and duke of Orleans, were condemned by commiſſioners to be beheaded. The commander was pardoned upon the ſcaffold, but the others were executed.

1633

Not only thoſe who were ſuſpected or accuſed of being in the duke of Orleans intereſt were perſecuted, but Charles IV. duke of Lorrain was likewiſe made the victim of the cardinal's deſigns. Lewis having made himſelf maſter of Nanci, promiſed the duke to reſtore him his capital, provided he would put his ſiſter Margaret into his hands, who had been privately married to his brother Gaſton. This match was the ſource of new diſputes and quarrels in the church and ſtate: theſe diſputes were of a nature to bring about a great revolution; no leſs than the ſucceſſion to the crown was concerned, and there had not happened ſo important a matter of controverſy, ſince that about the Salique law.

1635

The king inſiſted that his brother's marriage with Margaret of Lorrain ſhould be annulled; and by that means, if a prince ſhould be born

* They called him *Cu pourri*, or *rotten a----e*.

of

of this marriage, he wanted to have this prince, his nephew, and heir to the kingdom, declared a baſtard, and incapable of inheriting. The duke of Orleans' marriage had been celebrated in the preſence of witneſſes, authoriſed by the father and all the relations of his wife, conſummated, and legally acknowledged by all parties, and ſolemnly confirmed by the archbiſhop of Malines. This marriage was regarded as valid and indiſſoluble by the whole court of Rome, and all the foreign univerſities; and even the family of Lorrain declared afterwards, that it was not in the pope's power to annul it, and that it was an unalterable ſacrament.

The welfare of the ſtate required that the princes of the blood ſhould not be allowed to diſpoſe of themſelves without the king's will. The ſame reaſon might hereafter require of them to acknowledge as lawful king of France the iſſue of this marriage, now declared unlawful, but this danger was at a diſtance; the voice of preſent intereſt prevailed, and it became neceſſary, notwithſtanding the opinion of the church, that a ſacrament like that of marriage ſhould be annulled, if it had not received the previous aſſent of him who was in the place of father of the family.

An edict of the council did that which Rome and the council had never done; and the king went with the cardinal to the parliament of Paris to have it verified. The cardinal ſpoke at the bed of juſtice in character of prime miniſter, and peer of France. You may frame ſome idea of the eloquence of thoſe times from two or three paſſages in the cardinal's harangue: he ſaid that "To convert a ſoul Sept. 1934

ſoul was more than to create a world; that the king no more dared to touch his mother than he did the ark; and again, that there never happens more than two or three relapſes in acute diſeaſes, unleſs the noble parts are injured." Almoſt all his harangue was in this ſtile, and yet it was perhaps as good as any that was pronounced at that time. This bad taſte, which then prevailed, was no abaſement to the miniſter's genius; and the ſpirit of government has at all times been found compatible with falſe eloquence and falſe wit. The marriage of the duke of Orleans was ſolemnly annulled, and even the general aſſembly of the clergy in 1635, in conformity with the edict, declared all marriages contracted by the princes of the blood, without the king's conſent, to be null and void. The ſee of Rome, however, did not confirm this law of the church and ſtate of France.

The ſituation of the royal family of France became the point of controverſy in all Europe. If the preſumptive heir to the crown of that kingdom perſiſted in maintaining the marriage which had been annulled by this law, the children born of that marriage were baſtards in France, and could not ſucceed to their inheritance without a civil war: if he took another wife, the children born of this freſh marriage were baſtards at Rome, and would raiſe a civil war againſt the children of the firſt.

The duke of Orleans by his reſolution, of which this was the only example, prevented things being brought to ſuch extremities; and a few years afterwards the king conſented to acknowledge his brother's wife. But that part of the edict which renders null the marriages con-

contracted by the princes of the blood, without the king's conſent, remains ſtill in force.

This obſtinacy of the cardinal's, in puſhing his revenge againſt the prince, even to his domeſtic affairs, in taking from him his wife, in ſtripping his brother-in-law, the duke of Lorrain, of his dominions, and in keeping the queen-mother in exile and indigence, at length rouſed the friends of the royal refugees, who entered into a plot to aſſaſſinate him. Father Chanteloube, a prieſt of the oratory, and almoner to Mary of Medicis, was juridically accuſed of having hired murderers, one of which was broken on the wheel at Metz. There were but few of theſe attempts; many more had been made againſt the life of Henry IV. but fanaticiſm produces greater crimes than the moſt inveterate hatred.

The cardinal, who was much better guarded than Henry IV. had nothing to fear, and he triumphed over all his enemies. The queen mother's and the duke of Orleans little court, which was wandering and deſolate, was filled with diſſenſions and factions, which always attend misfortune.

Richelieu had more powerful enemies to oppoſe. He reſolved, notwithſtanding the ſecret troubles which preyed upon the vitals of the kingdom, to eſtabliſh the power and reputation of France abroad, and to complete the grand ſcheme of Henry IV. by making open war with the whole houſe of Auſtria, in Germany, Italy, and Spain. By this war he rendered himſelf neceſſary to a maſter who did not love him, and with whom his enemies were inceſſantly labouring to ruin him. His reputation was concerned

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in this undertaking, as the time ſeemed to be come for cruſhing the Auſtrian power, now on its decline. Picardy and Champagne were ſtill the limits of France; theſe limits might be enlarged while the Swedes were ſtill in the empire. The United Provinces were ready to attack the king of Spain in Flanders, provided they could depend upon the leaſt aſſiſtance from France. Theſe were the ſole motives of the war againſt the emperor, which continued till the treaty of Weſtphalia; and of that againſt Spain, which laſted for a long time after, till ended by the treaty of the Pyrenees. All other reaſons were only pretences.

The court of France had hitherto endeavoured to take advantage of the troubles of Germany, under the title of ally to the Swedes, and mediators in the empire. The Swedes had loſt the great battle at Nordlingen, and even their defeat proved ſerviceable to France, as it brought them to be dependent on that kingdom. Chancellor Oxenſtiern came to Compeigne, to do homage to the cardinal's fortune, who was now maſter of affairs in Germany, which had before been in the chancellor's hands. At the ſame time he made a treaty with the ſtates-general, to ſhare with them the Spaniſh Netherlands, which he looked upon as an eaſy conqueſt.

Lewis XIII. ſent an herald at arms to Bruſſels to declare war. This herald was to preſent a cartel of defiance to the cardinal-infant, ſon to Philip III. who was at that time governor of the Low Countries. It is to be obſerved that this cardinal prince, agreable to the cuſtoms of thoſe times, had the command of the army, and was one of the chiefs who gained the battle of

of Nordlingen againſt the Swedes. In this age we ſee the cardinals Richelieu, de la Valette, and Sourdis, putting on armour and marching at the head of armies. All theſe cuſtoms are now changed. This was the laſt declaration of war made by an herald at arms; ſince that time each party has thought it ſufficient to publiſh it at home, without ſending into the enemies country to declare it.

Cardinal Richelieu drew the duke of Savoy and the duke of Parma into this alliance: he likewiſe made ſure of Barnard duke of Saxe-Weimar, by giving him a penſion of four millions of livres *per ann.* and promiſing him the landgravate of Alſace. None of theſe events, however, anſwered the political views with which they were framed: Alſace, which was to be given to Weimar, fell a conſiderable time afterwards into the hands of France; and Lewis XIII. who was in one campaign to ſhare the Spaniſh Netherlands with the Dutch, 1636 loſt his army, and was very near ſeeing all Picardy fall a prey to the Spaniards. They had actually taken Corbie; and the count of Galas, the imperial general, and the duke of Lorrain, were in the neighbourhood of Dijon. The French army were at firſt unſucceſsful on all ſides, and ſtood in need of the greateſt efforts to reſiſt thoſe whom they thought to beat ſo eaſily.

In a word, the cardinal ſaw himſelf in a very ſhort time on the point of being ruined by that very war which he had raiſed for the eſtabliſhment of his own greatneſs and that of France. His power at court ſuffered for ſome time by the bad ſucceſs of public affairs. The duke of Orleans,

Orleans, whoſe life was a perpetual reflux of quarrels and reconciliations with the king his brother, was returned to France; and the cardinal was obliged to reſign the command of the army to this prince and the count of Soiſſons, who retook Corbie. He now ſaw himſelf expoſed to the reſentment of theſe two princes. This was a time of conſpiracies and duels, as I have already obſerved. The ſame perſons who afterwards, in conjunction with cardinal de Retz, brought about the firſt troubles of the Fronde, and were concerned in the barricadoes, from that time took every opportunity of exerciſing that factious ſpirit with which they were devoured. Gaſton and the count of Soiſſons countenanced them in all their attempts againſt the cardinal. It was reſolved to aſſaſſinate him even in the king's preſence: but the duke of Orleans, who always did things by halves, terrified at the attempt, neglected to give the ſignal which had been agreed on by the conſpirators.

The Imperialiſts were driven out of Burgundy, and the Spaniards from Picardy. The duke of Weimar was ſucceſsful in Alſace, and made himſelf maſter of almoſt that landgravate, which the court of France had guaranteed to him. In fine, after a ſeries of greater advantages than there had been loſſes, fortune, who preſerved the cardinal's life from ſo many plots againſt it, preſerved his reputation likewiſe, which depended on ſucceſs.

This love of glory put him upon endeavouring to gain the firſt place in the empire of wit and learning, even in the moſt critical ſituation of national affairs and his own, and in the midſt

midſt of thoſe attempts to which his life was continually expoſed. He erected the French academy at this time, and exhibited the- 1637
atrical pieces in his own palace, in the compoſition of which he himſelf had ſometimes a ſhare. As ſoon as the danger was paſt, he reſumed all his wonted pride and fierceneſs: for it was at this very time that he fomented the firſt troubles of England, and that he wrote that note which was the forerunner of all the misfortunes of Charles I. "Before a year is elapſed, the king of England will find that I am not to be deſpiſed."

When the prince of Condé was ob- 1638
liged to raiſe the ſiege of Fontarabia, after his army was beaten, and the duke de la Valette was accuſed of not having properly aſſiſted him, he cauſed that duke, who had fled, to be condemned by a court of commiſſioners, at which the king himſelf preſided. This was an ancient cuſtom in the conſtitution of the peerage, when kings were looked upon only as the heads of the peers: but under a government purely monarchical, the preſence and opinion of the ſovereign had too much influence on the opinions of the judges.

This war of the cardinal's raiſing, was not fully ſucceſsful till the complete victory gained by the duke of Weimar over the Imperialiſts, in which he took four generals of the empire priſoners, took poſſeſſion of Fribourg and Briſac; and till at length the Spaniſh branch of the houſe of Auſtria loſt Portugal by the only ſucceſsful conſpiracy which had happened in thoſe times; and that it afterwards loſt Catalonia by an open revolt towards the end of the year

year 1640. But before fortune had diſpoſed of all theſe extraordinary events in favour of France, the country was expoſed to ruin. The troops began to be ill payed; Grotius, who was ambaſſador from Sweden to the court of Paris ſays, that the finances were badly managed. His obſervation is very juſt; for the cardinal was obliged ſome time after the loſs of Corbie to create twenty-four new counſellors of the parliament and one preſident. Certainly there was no want of new judges, and it was ſhameful to create them merely for the ſake of raiſing money by the ſale of their places. The parliament accordingly complained of it; and all the anſwer they received was, that the cardinal impriſoned five of its magiſtrates who had repreſented their grievances like men of ſpirit. Every one who dared to oppoſe him at court, in the parliament, or in the armies, were diſgraced, baniſhed, or impriſoned.

Lewis XIII. always ſtood in need of a confident called a favourite, who was capable of amuſing his melancholy diſpoſition, and of being the depoſitory of his uneaſineſſes. This poſt was occupied by the duke of St. Simon; but not having taken ſufficient care to keep well with the cardinal, he was driven from court, and baniſhed to Blayes *.

The king ſometimes devoted himſelf to the fair ſex: he was fond of Mademoiſelle de la Fayette, maid of honour to the queen his wife, ſo far as a weak, ſcrupulous, and indifferent perſon could be ſaid to love. The jeſuit Cauſſin,

* A town of Guienne in France, on the river Garonne.

the

the king's confeſſor, countenanced this connection, as it might prove inſtrumental in procuring the queen-mother's return. Mademoiſelle de la Fayette, at the ſame time that ſhe encouraged the king's paſſion was in the intereſt of the two queens againſt the cardinal: but the miniſter ſoon prevailed over the miſtreſs and the confeſſor, as he had done over the two queens. Mademoiſelle de la Fayette, through fear of his reſentment, threw herſelf into a convent, and ſoon afterwards father Cauſſin was arreſted, and ſent into baniſhment 1637 in Lower Brittany.

Chriſtina, dutcheſs of Savoy, daughter of Henry IV. widow to Lewis Amadeus, and regent of Savoy, had alſo a Jeſuit confeſſor, who caballed againſt the court of France, and exaſperated his royal penitent againſt the cardinal. That miniſter, preferring revenge and the intereſt of the ſtate to the law of nations, made no ſcruple of ſeizing the Jeſuit in the dutcheſs's dominions. The queen conſort herſelf was treated like a common culprit, for having wrote to the dutcheſs of Chevreuſe, who was the cardinal's enemy, and had fled the kingdom. Her papers were ſeized, and ſhe herſelf obliged to undergo an examination before the chancellor Sequier.

All theſe particulars collected together, form a faithful portrait of this miniſter. The ſame man ſeemed made to lord it over all the family of the great king Henry IV. to perſecute his widow in foreign countries; to ill uſe his ſon Gaſton; to raiſe factions againſt his daughter, the queen of England; and laſtly, to humble Lewis XIII. by making him powerful, and his

wife tremble. Thus he paſſed his whole adminiſtration in raiſing the public hatred and revenging himſelf; and every year produced new rebellions, and new puniſhments. The revolt of the count of Soiſſons was the moſt dangerous. It was ſupported by the duke of Bouillon, ſon to the marechal of that name, who received him into Sedan †; by the duke of Guiſe, grandſon to Balafrée, who with the courage of his anceſtors reſolved to reſtore the fortunes of his houſe; and laſtly, by the king of Spain, who furniſhed him with money and troops from the Low Countries.

The count of Soiſſons, and the duke of Bouillon had a good army and knew how to conduct it; and for the greater ſecurity, it was reſolved, while the army was advancing, to aſſaſſinate the cardinal, and make an inſurrection at Paris. The cardinal de Retz, who was at that time very young, ſerved his firſt apprenticeſhip to conſpiracies in this plot. The battle of Marfée, gained by the count of Soiſſons over the king's troops near Sedan, would have greatly encouraged the conſpirators; but the death of that prince, who was killed in the engagement, again extricated the cardinal
1641 from this new danger. It was now for once out of his power to puniſh; for he did not know of the conſpiracy againſt his life, and the rebel army was victorious. He therefore found it neceſſary to enter into a treaty with the duke of Bouillon, who was in poſſeſſion of Sedan. The duke of Guiſe, the ſame who

† A ſtrong town of Champagne in France.

after-

afterwards made himſelf maſter of Naples, was the only one who ſuffered on this occaſion, being condemned for contumacy in the parliament of Paris.

The duke of Bouillon, who was reſtored to favour at court, and outwardly reconciled to the cardinal, ſwore fidelity, and at the ſame time formed a new conſpiracy. As every one who was about the king hated his miniſter, and as the king could not be without a favourite, Richelieu himſelf gave him one in the perſon of young Effiat Cinq-Mars, that he might have a creature of his own about the throne. This young man, who was ſoon made maſter of the horſe, wanted to be in the council, and the cardinal, who would not ſuffer it, had immediately an irreconcileable enemy in him. What the more emboldened Cinq-Mars to plot againſt him was, the king's own behaviour, who being frequently diſpleaſed with his miniſter, and offended with his pride and ſtate, uſed to impart his diſlike to his favourite, whom he always called his Dear Friend, and ſpoke in ſuch ſharp terms againſt Richelieu, that it incouraged Cinq-Mars to propoſe to his majeſty ſeveral times to have him aſſaſſinated. This is proved by a letter which Lewis XIII. himſelf wrote to chancellor Seguier. But the king afterwards took ſuch a diſlike to his favourite, that he frequently baniſhed him from his preſence; ſo that Cinq-Mars conceived an equal hatred to Lewis and his miniſter. He had engaged in a correſpondence with the count of Soiſſons before his death, and afterwards continued to carry it on with the duke of Bouillon; and the king's brother, who after his many unſucceſsful

ſchemes remained quiet in his apennage of Blois, grown weary at length of a life of idleneſs, and being importuned by the conſpirators, entered into the confederacy. His chief object in all his undertakings was the cardinal's death, a ſcheme which had been frequently attempted and as often fruſtrated.

1642 Lewis XIII. and Richelieu, who were at that time both attacked by a diſorder which was more dangerous than conſpiracies, and which ſoon brought them both to the grave, marched together into Rouſſillon, to diveſt the houſe of Auſtria for ever of that province. The duke of Bouillon, whom they ſhould not have entruſted with a command, juſt after having been in arms againſt the king, was at the head of an army in Piedmont, againſt the Spaniards, and at that very time were plotting with the king's brother and Cinq-Mars. The conſpirators made a treaty with Spain for a body of troops to be ſent into France in order to throw every thing into confuſion during a regency, which they looked upon as very near, and of which every one hoped to make advantage. Cinq-Mars, who at that time had followed the king into Narbonne, was more in his good graces than ever; and Richelieu, who was ill at Tarafcon, had loſt all his credit, and kept his ground only by being neceſſary.

The cardinal's good fortune would have it that this plot likewiſe ſhould be diſcovered; a copy of the treaty fell into his hands. This coſt Cinq-Mars his life*. There was an anec-

* He was beheaded at Lyons, together with monſieur de Thou.

dote handed about by the courtiers of thoſe days, that the king, who was frequently wont to call the maſter of his horſe his Dear Friend, pulled out his watch at the hour appointed for his execution, and turning to thoſe about him ſaid, "I fancy my Dear Friend makes a very bad figure juſt now." The duke of Bouillon was put under arreſt at the head of his army at Caſal. He ſaved his life becauſe they wanted his principality of Sedan more than his life: and he who had twice betrayed the ſtate, preſerved his dignity of prince, and in exchange for Sedan, had lands of a much greater value given him. De Thou †, whoſe only fault was the having

† This was the ſon of the hiſtorian: he was king's counſellor, and maſter of requeſts of the king's houſehold, a man of profound erudition and unblemiſhed integrity. Some people believed that the cardinal revenged on him what his father had ſaid in his hiſtory, of Anthony du Pleſſis de Richelieu, one of the cardinal's great uncles. Speaking of the conſpiracy of Amboiſe, the hiſtorian ſays, *Antonius Pleſſiacus Richelieus, vulgo dictus monachus, quod eam vitam profeſſus fuiſſet; dein voto ejurato, omni ſe licentiæ ac libidinis genere contaminaſſet.* "Anthony du Pleſſis de Richelieu, commonly called a monk, becauſe he had profeſſed that kind of life; afterwards renouncing his vows, he defiled himſelf with every ſpecies of licentiouſneſs and libertiniſm." Francis Auguſtus de Thou ſuffered in the thirty-fifth year of his age, with the moſt philoſophical compoſure. About an hour before his execution, he wrote with his own hand the following claſſical inſcription, to be put upon a chapel he had founded at the Cordeliers of Tarraſcon, in performance of a vow which he had made at that town when he was firſt impriſoned.

Chriſto Liberatori,
Votum in carcere pro libertati conceptum,
Franc. Auguſtus Thuanus
E carcere vitæ jam jam liberandus,
Merito ſolvit. Sept. 12, 1642.

been privy to the conſpiracy, which he at the ſame time diſapproved, was condemned to die for not having diſcovered it; notwithſtanding that he pleaded in excuſe that he could not have been able to prove a depoſition of that kind; and that he ſhould have been much more deſerving of death, had he accuſed the king's brother of a crime againſt the ſtate, without ſufficient evidence to make good his charge. This obvious juſtification was not allowed by the cardinal, who was his mortal enemy. The judges condemned him upon a law made by Lewis XI. whoſe name is alone ſufficient to prove it to have been a cruel one. The queen herſelf was privy to the plot; but not being accuſed, ſhe eſcaped the mortifications ſhe muſt otherwiſe have ſuffered. As to Gaſton duke of Orleans, he, as uſual, impeached his accomplices, and humbled himſelf, conſenting to remain at Blois without guards, or any other of the honours belonging to his dignity; it had been always his fate to bring his friends to a priſon or a ſcaffold.

The cardinal diſplayed all his haughty rigour in his revenge authoriſed by juſtice. He carried the maſter of the horſe after him from Taraſcon to Lyons on the Rhone, in a boat faſtened to the ſtern of that in which he himſelf was; and, though ſtruck with death himſelf, exulting in the fall of him who was going to ſuffer by the hand of the executioner. From thence the cardinal was carried to Paris upon the ſhoulders of his guards, in a large litter, where two men could ſtand by his bed-ſide: a breach was made in the walls of the towns though which he paſſed, in order to give him a more

commodious entrance. In this manner he went to finiſh his life in Paris, at the age of fifty-eight, leaving the king pleaſed with being rid of him, and yet perplexed with being his own maſter. It is ſaid that this miniſter governed after his death, becauſe ſome vacant places were filled with thoſe of his nomination: but the commiſſions had been made out before his death; and what proves beyond contradiction that he had already governed too long and had loſt his power is, that all thoſe whom he had ſhut up in the Baſtile, were releaſed as ſoon as he was dead, as victims who were no longer to be ſacrificed to his vengeance. He left the king three millions of our money, at fifty livres to the mark, which ſum he always kept by him in reſerve. The expence of his houſehold after he came to be prime miniſter, amounted to a thouſand crowns a-day. Every thing about him was ſplendid and ſtately; whereas, in the king's family, all was plain and ſimple. His guards attended him quite to the room-door whenever he went to his maſter. He took precedency of all the princes of the blood: he wanted nothing but the crown; and even while he lay on his death-bed, and ſtill entertained hopes of ſurviving the king, he took meaſures for being made regent of the kingdom. Henry IV's widow died about five months before him, and Lewis XIII. followed him about five months afterwards.

Dec. 4, 1642

July 3, 1642

It was difficult to ſay which of the three was moſt unhappy. The queen mother, after having been long a wanderer, died very poor in Cologne. The ſon, though maſter of a no-

ble kingdom, neither taſted the ſweets of greatneſs, if it affords any, nor thoſe of ſociety; he was always under a yoke, and always endeavouring to ſhake it off; ſubject to an ill ſtate of health, gloomy, melancholy, and inſupportable even to himſelf: he had not one ſervant who loved him, he diſtruſted his own wife, was hated by his brother, deſerted by his miſtreſſes, without having experienced the pleaſures of love, betrayed by his favourites, and abandoned on the throne. The condition of the meaneſt of his ſubjects who lived in peace was infinitely preferable to his.

The cardinal was perhaps the moſt unhappy of the three, becauſe he was the moſt hated; and that though labouring under a bad ſtate of health, he was obliged to ſupport an immenſe burthen with hands imbrued in blood.

In theſe times of conſpiracies and puniſhments the kingdom however was in a flouriſhing condition; and notwithſtanding the troubles which prevailed, the age of politeneſs and the liberal arts began to diſcover itſelf. Lewis XIII. contributed nothing towards this change; it was chiefly owing to the care and induſtry of cardinal Richelieu. Philoſophy indeed could not as yet ſhake off the ruſt of the ſchools; but Corneille in 1635, began that famous æra of ſcience, known by the name of the age of Lewis XIV. by his incomparable tragedy of the Cid; Le Pouſſin equalled Raphael d'Urbin in ſome parts of painting. Sculpture was ſoon brought to perfection by Girardon, as may be ſeen by Richelieu's monument. The French began to make themſelves eſteemed every where by their agreeable and polite manners. In a word

word, this was the dawn of good taſte. The nation was not yet what it became afterwards; neither was trade ſo well cultivated, nor the general police eſtabliſhed. The inner parts of the kingdom were yet to be regulated. Paris was the only handſome city, and that wanted many neceſſary things, as we ſhall ſee hereafter in the age of Lewis XIV. The manner of living as well as the dreſs of thoſe times, was in every reſpect different from what it is at preſent; inſomuch, that were the people of our days to ſee thoſe of that time, they would not think they ſaw their fathers. The buſkins, the doublet, the cloak, the large ruff, the whiſkers, and the little pointed beard, would render them as ſtrange to us as their paſſions for plots, their eagerneſs for duels, their tavern debaucheries, and their univerſal ignorance, notwithſtanding their natural good ſenſe.

The nation was not ſo rich as it has ſince become, either in coined ſpecie or wrought ſilver; and though the adminiſtration drew all it could from the people, it was not able to raiſe above one half the annual income of Lewis XIV. They were likewiſe inferior to us in the riches of induſtry. The coarſe cloth manufactures of Rouen and Elbeuf were the fineſt then known in France: there was no tapeſtry, nor chriſtal or plate glaſs. The art of watch-making was but in its infancy, and conſiſted in putting a ſtring upon the fuſee of a watch, pendulums not being then invented. The maritime commerce in the ſea-ports of the Levant was ten times leſs than it is at preſent; that of America conſiſted only in a few furs from Canada: they ſent no ſhips to the Eaſt Indies,

while the Dutch had large kingdoms there, and the Engliſh very conſiderable ſettlements.

Conſequently there was much leſs money in the nation than there is at preſent; the government borrowed at higher intereſt: the leaſt it gave for annuities at cardinal Richelieu's death was ſeven and a half per cent. This may ſerve as an inconteſtable proof among many others, that the Political Will ſaid to be made by that miniſter could not be his. The ignorant and abſurd impoſtor who has forged his name, ſays, in the firſt chapter of the ſecond part, that the poſſeſſion of theſe annuities brings in the firſt purchaſe money in ſeven years and an half: he has taken the ſeventh penny, for ſeven and a half per cent, and does not perceive that the reimburſement of a capital in ſeven years and an half, inſtead of giving ſeven and a half, gives fourteen per cent per ann. The whole of what he ſays throughout this chapter, ſhews him to be equally ignorant of the firſt elements of arithmetic, as he is of ſtate-affairs. I enter into this ſhort detail only to ſhew how mankind may be impoſed on by a name: ſo long as this work of darkneſs paſſed for cardinal Richelieu's, it was extolled for a maſterpiece; but thoſe who have diſcovered this to be a forgery, have found it full of errors and falſehoods.

CHAP.

CHAP. CXLVII.

Of the Government and Manners of SPAIN, from the Reign of PHILIP II. to that of PHILIP IV.

WE have ſeen that after the death of Philip II. the Spaniſh monarchs confirmed their abſolute power in their own dominions, and inſenſibly loſt their authority in Europe. This decline began to manifeſt itſelf in the firſt year of the reign of Philip III. the weakneſs of whoſe character communicated itſelf to all parts of his adminiſtration. It was difficult to extend a conſtant and equal care and vigilance to the vaſt poſſeſſions in Aſia, Africa, America, Italy, and the Netherlands: but his father had overcome theſe difficulties; and the riches of Mexico, Peru, the Brazils, and the Eaſt Indies, might have empowered his ſon to overcome all obſtacles. But there was ſuch a remiſſneſs in the adminiſtration, and ſuch treachery in the management of the public revenues, that in the war againſt the United Provinces, there was not money ſufficient to pay the Spaniſh troops, who thereupon mutinied and deſerted, to the number of three thouſand, over to prince Maurice. A private ſtadtholer by a prudent œconomy, was able to pay his troops better than the ſovereign of ſo many kingdoms. Philip III. might have covered the ocean with his fleets, and yet the ſmall provinces of Holland and Zealand were ſuperior to him at ſea. With their fleet they took from him the principal 1604

Molucca iſlands, particularly that of Amboyna, which has ever ſince continued in the poſſeſſion of the Dutch. In a word, theſe ſeven ſmall provinces baffled all the forces of this vaſt monarchy by land, and made themſelves ſuperior by ſea.

1606

Philip III. though at peace with France and England, and engaged only in this one war, with a new formed republic, was obliged to conclude a truce of twelve years with it, and to leave it in poſſeſſion of all it had taken from him; to ſecure to it its trade in the great Indies; and finally, to reſtore to the houſe of Naſſau all the poſſeſſions it had ſituated in the lands of the Spaniſh monarchy. Henry IV. had the glory of concluding this truce by his ambaſſadors. It is generally the weakeſt ſide that aſks a truce, and yet prince Maurice would not apply for one: it was even more difficult to get his conſent to it than the king of Spain's.

1609

The expulſion of the Moors was ſtill more prejudicial to the monarchy. Philip III. could not cruſh an inconſiderable number of Hollanders, and yet he was unfortunate enough to be able to expel between ſix and ſeven hundred thouſand Moors from his dominions. Theſe remains of the ancient conquerors of Spain were for the moſt part deſtitute of arms, employed wholly in trade and agriculture, far leſs formidable in Spain than the proteſtants were in France, and much more uſeful, becauſe they were laborious in a country given up to idleneſs. They were obliged to put on the appearance of being Chriſtians: the inquiſition perſecuted them without ceaſing; this perſecution

cution occaſioned ſome few inſurrections, but they were very weak and eaſily quelled. Henry IV. deſigned to take theſe people under his protection: but his correſpondence with them was diſcovered by a clerk of the 1609 office for foreign affairs; and this diſcovery occaſioned their diſperſion. It had already been reſolved to drive them out of the kingdom. They made an offer of two millions of gold ducats for permiſſion to breathe the air of Spain, but in vain; the council was inflexible. Twenty thouſand of theſe proſcribed wretches took refuge among the mountains; but having no other arms than ſlings and ſtones, they were ſoon put to the rout. Two whole years were taken up in tranſporting ſubjects out of the kingdom, and depopulating the ſtate. Philip thus deprived himſelf of the moſt laborious part of his ſubjects, inſtead of imitating the Turks, who know how to keep the Greeks under proper ſubjection, without obliging them to ſeek for ſettlements in foreign countries.

The greateſt part of theſe Spaniſh Moors took refuge in Africa, their ancient country; ſome removed to France during the regency of Mary of Medecis; thoſe who would not renounce their religion, embarked in the ports of that kingdom for Tunis; a few families, who embraced the chriſtian faith, ſettled in Provence and Languedoc, and ſome in Paris, where their race was not unknown: but at length theſe refugees were incorporated with the reſt of the nation, who profited by the fault of the Spaniſh monarch, which it after imitated by the expulſion of the reformed. Thus have all nations been intermingled, and one people ſwallowed

up in another, ſometimes by perſecutions, and at other times by conqueſts.

This great emigration, added to that which happened under Ferdinand and Iſabella, and to the numerous colonies which avarice had tranſplanted into the new world, inſenſibly exhauſted Spain of its inhabitants, and that monarchy ſoon became a mighty body without ſubſtance. Superſtition, the vice of weak minds, was another ſubject of diſgrace to the reign of Philip III. his court was only a chaos of intrigues, like that of Lewis XIII. Theſe two princes could neither of them live without favourites, nor reign without prime miniſters. The duke of Lerma, who was afterwards cardinal, governed for a long time both king and kingdom, till the general confuſion of affairs drove him from his place. He was ſucceeded by his ſon; but the kingdom was not the better for it.

1621 The diſorder in the ſtate increaſed under the reign of Philip IV. ſon to Philip III. His favourite, the count duke of Olivarez, made him take the ſurname of Great on his acceſſion to the throne. Had he been really ſo, he would not have needed a prime miniſter. Europe and his own ſubjects refuſed him this title; and afterwards when he loſt Rouſſillon, by the inferiority of his arms, Portugal by his negligence, and Catalonia by the abuſe he made of his power, the public voice gave him a ditch for his device, with theſe words: "The more is taken from it the greater it is."

This fine kingdom was at that time weak without doors, and miſerable within. It was a ſtranger to all kind of police. Its domeſtic commerce was ruined, by the duties which they con-

continued to raiſe from one province to another. Every one of theſe provinces had formerly been a petty kingdom, and the ancient cuſtoms were ſtill kept up. What had formerly been a neceſſary law was now become an abſolute burthen. The government did not know how to form all theſe different parts into an uniform whole. The ſame error has been introduced into France; but in Spain it was carried to ſuch an exceſs, that it was forbidden even to carry money out of one province into another. No induſtry ſeconded the gifts of nature in this happy climate: neither the ſilks of Valentia, nor the fine woollen ſtuffs of Andaluſia and Caſtile were made by the hands of the natives. Fine linen cloaths were an article of luxury then very little known. The Flemiſh manufacturers, the remains of the eſtabliſhments of the houſe of Burgundy, furniſhed Madrid with all it then knew of magnificence. Gold and ſilver ſtuffs were prohibited in the kingdom, as in an indigent republic, afraid of being impoveriſhed. And indeed, notwithſtanding the mines of the new world, Spain was ſo poor that Philip IV's miniſtry was reduced to the neceſſity of coining copper money, and giving it a price nearly equivalent to that of ſilver; ſo that the maſter of Mexico and Peru was obliged to make uſe of counterfeit coin, to defray the expences of the ſtate. They did not dare, according to the wiſe Gourville, to impoſe perſonal taxes, becauſe as the burghers and the country people had hardly any moveables, they could never be compelled to pay the ſums aſſeſſed upon them. Never was the ſaying of Charles V. more completely

pletely verified: "France abounds in every thing, Spain wants every thing."

The reign of Philip IV. was only a ſeries of loſſes and diſgraces; and the count duke Olivarez was as unfortunate in his adminiſtration as cardinal de Richelieu was happy in his.

The Dutch, who began the war again at the expiration of the twelve years truce, 1625 took the Barzils from Spain, of which they ſtill retain Surinam. They likewiſe took Maeſtricht, which ſtill continues in their poſſeſſion. Philip's armies were driven out of the Valteline and Piedmont by the French, without a declaration of war; and at length after war was declared in 1635, his arms proved unſucceſsful in all parts. Artois was invaded; Catalonia jealous of its privileges, upon which he had made encroachments, revolts all together, and puts itſelf under the dominion of France. Portugal ſhook off his yoke; and by a conſpiracy as vigorouſly executed as it had been well conducted, the family of Braganza was ſeated on the throne of that kingdom. The prime miniſter, Olivarez, had the confuſion of having himſelf contributed to this great revolution, by ſending money to the duke of Braganza to take from him all pretence of not coming to Madrid. With this very money the duke paid the conſpirators.

The revolution was not difficult. Olivarez had been imprudent enough to recal a Spaniſh garriſon from Liſbon. There were few troops left to guard the kingdom. The people were exaſperated with a new tax that was going to be laid upon them; and, to complete all, the prime miniſter thinking to deceive the duke of Bra-

Braganza, had given him the command of the arſenal. The dutcheſs of Mantua, who was vice-queen, was driven out of the kingdom, without a ſingle perſon to ſtir in her defence. A Spaniſh ſecretary of ſtate and one of his clerks were the only victims ſacrificed to the public vengeance. All the towns in Portugal followed the example of Liſbon, almoſt in the ſame day. Don John of Braganza was univerſally proclaimed king without the leaſt diſturbance: a ſon does not ſucceed more peaceably to the poſſeſſions of his father. Ships were diſpatched from Liſbon to all the cities of Aſia and Africa, and to all the iſlands which belonged to the crown of Portugal, and they all with one accord expelled the Spaniſh governors. All that part of the Brazils which had not been taken from the Spaniards by the Dutch, returned under the Portugueſe dominion; and at length the Dutch made a league with the new king, don John of Braganza, and reſtored to him what they had taken from the Spaniards in the Brazils.

The Azores iſlands, Moſambique, Goa, and Macao, were animated with the ſame ſpirit as Liſbon. It ſeemed as if the conſpiracy had been previouſly concerted in all theſe towns. It every where appeared how diſagreeable a foreign ruler is, and at the ſame time how badly the Spaniſh miniſtry had provided for the preſervation of ſo many ſtates.

It was likewiſe ſeen how kings are flattered in their misfortunes, and how carefully diſagreeable truths are diſguiſed to them. The manner in which Olivarez acquainted Philip IV. with the loſs of Portugal is famous. "I come

come to bring your majeſty good news, ſaid that artful miniſter: all the duke of Braganza's eſtates are fallen to you; he has taken it into his head to have himſelf declared king, and by his crime your majeſty is intitled to the confiſcation of all his eſtates." This confiſcation however did not take place: Portugal became a conſiderable kingdom, eſpecially when by the riches of Brazil, and its treaties with England, it eſtabliſhed a flouriſhing trade.

The count-duke Olivarez, maſter of the Spaniſh monarchy, and rival to cardinal de Richelieu, was at length diſgraced for having been unſucceſsful. Theſe two miniſters had long been alike kings, the one in France and the other in Spain; both had the royal family, the grandees of the kingdom, and the people, their enemies; they were both very different in their characters, their virtues, and their vices. The count-duke was as reſerved, mild, and gentle, as the cardinal was lively, haughty, and cruel. It was Richelieu's activity which continued him in the adminiſtration, and gave him almoſt always the aſcendant over Olivarez. The Spaniſh miniſter loſt every thing by his negligence. He died the death of all diſgraced miniſters: it is ſaid that vexation kills them; but it is not ſo much the vexation of being left in ſolitude, after the hurry they have been accuſtomed to, as the vexation of knowing that they are hated, and cannot revenge themſelves. Cardinal Richelieu ſhortned his days in a different manner, by the uneaſineſſes with which he was devoured in the fullneſs of his power.

After

After all the loſſes that the Spaniſh branch of the houſe of Auſtria had ſuſtained, it ſtill retained more dominions than the kingdom of Spain now poſſeſſes. The dutchy of Milan, Flanders, Naples, and Sicily, belonged to that monarchy; and notwithſtanding the badneſs of its adminiſtration, it continued to give great uneaſineſs to France, till the peace of the Pyrenees.

From the time of Philip II. to Philip IV. the Spaniards were famous for the arts of genius. Their ſtage, imperfect as it was, was ſtill ſuperior to that of other nations, and ſerved as a model for the Engliſh theatre: and afterwards, when tragedy began to appear with ſome degree of luſtre in France, it borrowed a great deal from the Spaniſh ſtage. Hiſtory, pleaſing romances, ingenious fictions, and morality, were carried to a ſtill greater perfection in Spain than the drama; but ſound philoſophy was always unknown to them. The inquiſition and ſuperſtition perpetuated the errors of the ſchools. The mathematics were very little cultivated, and the Spaniards almoſt always employed Italian engineers in their wars. They had ſome painters of the ſecond rank, but never any ſchool for painting. Architecture did not make any conſiderable progreſs among them. The eſcurial was built after a Frenchman's deſign. The mechanical arts were ſtill in a very rude ſtate. The magnificence of the noblemen conſiſted in great heaps of ſilver plate, and a number of ſervants.

There was an oſtentatious kind of generoſity practiſed in the houſes of the grandees, which deceived ſtrangers, aud was the cuſtom no where but

but in Spain; this was to diſtribute all the money won at play among the by-ſtanders of whatſoever condition. Montreſor relates that when the duke of Lerma received Gaſton, brother to Lewis XIII. and his retinue in the Low Countries, he diſplayed a ſtill more extraordinary kind of magnificence. This miniſter, at whoſe houſe Gaſton remained for ſeveral days, cauſed two thouſand louis d'ors to be laid every day upon a large gaming table for the princes retinue and himſelf likewiſe to divert themſelves at play.

The entertainments of bull-fighting were very frequent, as they ſtill are; this was a moſt magnificent and gallant ſpectacle, and at the ſame time the moſt cruel. At the ſame time there was a total want of the conveniences of life. The want of theſe conveniences was greatly increaſed after the expulſion of the Moors. Hence it comes to paſs, that you travel in Spain as you would in the deſerts of Arabia, and that the towns are deſtitute of every kind of conveniency. Society was as little improved as the handicraft arts. The women, who were almoſt as cloſely confined as thoſe in Africa, comparing this ſlavery with the liberty enjoyed by thoſe of their ſex in France, became doubly miſerable. This reſtraint brought to perfection an art unknown to us, that of diſcourſing with the fingers. In this manner only did a lover explain himſelf under his miſtreſs's window, who at the ſame time opened one of thoſe little window grates called Jealouſies, which ſupplied the place of ſaſhes, and anſwered him in the ſame language. Every one played upon the guittar, and yet it did not en-

enliven the general gloom that was ſpread over the face of the whole country. The practice of religious duties ſupply the place of other occupations among the common people, who were all unemployed. It was ſaid then that pride, devotion, love, and idleneſs, compoſed the character of the Spaniſh nation; but at the ſame time there were none of thoſe bloody revolutions, conſpiracies, and cruel puniſhments, which were ſo frequent in the other courts of Europe. Neither the duke of Lerma nor the count Olivarez ſhed the blood of their enemies on the ſcaffold: their kings were not aſſaſſinated there, as in France; nor did they fall, as in England, by the hand of the executioner.

CHAP. CXLVIII.

Of the GERMANS, under the Emperors RODOLPH II. MATTHIAS, and FERDINAND II. Of the Misfortunes of the Elector Palatine FREDERICK. Of the Conqueſts of GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS. Of the Peace of WESTPHALIA, &c.

WHILE France was recovering new life under Henry IV. that England flouriſhed under its Elizabeth, and Spain was the preponderating power in Europe under Philip II. Germany and the North did not make ſo great a figure.

If we conſider Germany as the ſeat of the empire, that empire was but an empty name; and

and it may be obſerved, that from the abdication of the emperor Charles V. till the reign of Leopold, it never had any credit in Italy. The coronations at Rome and Milan were ſuppreſſed, as uſeleſs ceremonies, which had before been looked upon as eſſential: but after that Ferdinand I. the brother and ſucceſſor of Charles V. had neglected to make the journey to Rome, it began to be thought of no conſequence. The pretenſions of the emperors upon Rome, and that of the popes to the beſtowing the imperial dignity, fell inſenſibly into oblivion; all was confined to a letter of congratulation, which the ſupreme pontiff writes to the emperor elect. Germany ſtill retained the title of empire, tho' weak, as being always a prey to diviſions. It was in fact a republic of princes, of which the emperor was chief; and theſe princes, having all pretenſions upon one another, were almoſt always engaged in a civil war, either private or public, which was continually fed by their contrary intereſts, and by the three different religions then in Germany, which were ſtill more contrary than the intereſts of the princes.

It was impoſſible that this vaſt ſtate, divided into ſo many detached principalities, deſtitute of trade at that time, and conſequently of riches, could have much influence on the ſyſtem of Europe. It was not ſtrong without doors, but it was within, becauſe it was always an induſtrious and warlike nation. Had the Germanic conſtitution fallen to decay, had the Turks invaded one part of Germany, and the other had called in foreign maſters, politicians would not have failed to declare, that Germany, already torn in pieces by inteſtine diviſions,

ſions, could not ſubſiſt any longer, and would have demonſtrated that the peculiar form of its government, the great number of its princes, and the plurality of religions, had neceſſarily prepared the way to ruin and inevitable ſlavery. The cauſes of the decline of the ancient Roman empire were not near ſo obvious, and yet the Germanic body has remained unſhaken, while it carried in its boſom every thing that appeared moſt likely to overturn it; and it is difficult to aſcribe this permanence of conſtitution to any other cauſe than the genius of the nation.

Germany had loſt Metz, Toul, and Verdun, in 1552, during the reign of Charles V. but this territory, which belonged to ancient France, might be conſidered rather as an excreſcence of the Germanic body, than a natural part of the ſtate. Ferdinand I. nor his ſucceſſors had made the leaſt attempt to recover thoſe towns. The emperors of the houſe of Auſtria, after they became kings of Hungary, had always the Turk to fear, and were not in a condition to diſturb France, weak as ſhe was, from the time of Francis II. to Henry IV. The princes of Germany might plunder her, while the Germanic body could not aſſemble all its forces to deſtroy her.

Ferdinand I. in vain endeavoured to reconcile the three religions which divided the empire, and to unite the princes, who were frequently at war with each other. The old maxim, "Divide to reign," by no means ſuited him: Germany muſt be united before he could be powerful; but it was ſo far from being in a ſtate of union, that it was diſmembered. It

was

was preciſely in his reign that the Teutonic knights gave the Poles Livonia, which was reputed a province of the empire, and which at preſent is in the poſſeſſion of the Ruſſians. The making all the biſhoprics in Brandenburg and Saxony ſecular, was not a diſmembering of the ſtate, but only a great change, which made thoſe princes more powerful, and the emperor weaker.

Maximilian II. was ſtill leſs the ſovereign than Ferdinand I. Had the empire preſerved any remains of its vigour, he would have ſupported his right to the Netherlands, which were undoubtedly a province of the empire, and of which the emperor and the diet were the proper judges. Theſe people therefore, who had ſo long been called rebels, ought to have been put by the laws under the ban of the empire; and yet Maximilian ſuffered the prince of Orange, William the Silent, to carry on the war in the Netherlands, at the head of German troops, without interfering in the quarrel. This emperor in vain cauſed himſelf to be elected king of Poland, in the year 1575, after the departure of Henry III. which was looked upon as an abdication; for Batteri, the vaivode of Tranſilvania, and the emperor's own vaſſal, carried it before his ſovereign; and the Ottoman court, under whoſe protection Batteri then was, proved more powerful than the court of Vienna.

Rodolph II. who ſucceeded his father Maximilian II. held the reins of the empire with a ſtill feebler hand. He was at the ſame time emperor, and king of Bohemia and Hungary, but he had no influence either in Bohemia, Hun-

Hungary, or Germany, and ſtill leſs in Italy. Rodolph's reign ſeems to prove that there is no general rule in politics.

This prince was eſteemed more incapable of governing than even Henry III. of France. Henry's conduct coſt him his life, and almoſt occaſioned the loſs of the kingdom. Rodolph's conduct, tho' much weaker, cauſed not the leaſt trouble in Germany. The reaſon is, that in France all the nobles wanted to eſtabliſh their own power upon the ruins of the throne, and that the German princes were already all of them eſtabliſhed.

There are times which abſolutely require the prince to be a warrior; Rodolph, who was not ſuch, ſaw his kingdom of Hungary over-run by the Turks. Germany was at that time ſo badly governed, that they were obliged to go a begging to raiſe money for oppoſing the Ottoman conqueſts. Begging-boxes were fixed up at the doors of all the churches. This was the firſt war that had been carried on by charity: it was looked upon as a kind of holy war, but it was not the more ſucceſsful on that account; and had it not been for the troubles in the ſeraglio, it is probable that Hungary would have remained for ever in the hands of the Porte.

Exactly the ſame thing happened in Germany under this emperor, which had lately been ſeen in France under Henry III. a catholic league in oppoſition to a proteſtant one, without the ſovereign having it in his power to put a ſtop to the proceedings of either. Religion, which had long been the cauſe of ſo many troubles in the empire, was now only the pretext. The affair in queſtion was the ſucceſ-

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ſion of the dutchies of Cleves and Juliers; this was another conſequence of the feudal government, and there was no other way of deciding the poſſeſſion of theſe fiefs but by arms. The houſes of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Neuburg, diſputed for them. The archduke Leopold, the emperor's couſin, had taken poſſeſſion of Cleves till the affair ſhould be decided. This diſpute, as we have already ſeen, was the ſole cauſe of the death of Henry IV. He was preparing to march to the aſſiſtance of the proteſtant leaguers, at the head of a well diſciplined army, attended by the greateſt generals of the age, and the beſt miniſters in Europe; this victorious prince was ready to take advantage of the weakneſs of Rodolph and Philip III.

The death of Henry IV. which rendered this great enterprize abortive, did not make Rodolph more happy. He had ceded Hungary, Auſtria, and Moravia, to his brother Matthias, at the time the king of France was preparing to march againſt him; and even when he was delivered from ſo formidable an enemy, he was ſtill obliged to yield Bohemia to this Matthias, and lead a private life, though with the title of emperor.

Every thing in his empire was done without him; he did not even interfere in the extraordinary affair of Gerhard de Truchſes, elector of Cologne, who wanted to keep his archbiſhopric and his wife at the ſame time, and who was driven from his electorate by force of arms, by his own canons, and the perſon who was his competitor. This extraordinary apathy to public affairs aroſe from a principle ſtill more extraordinary in an emperor; the ſtudy of philoſophy,

loſophy, to which he was particularly addicted, had taught him every thing which he could know at that time, except to diſcharge the duties of a ſovereign. He preferred inſtructing himſelf in aſtronomy under the famous Tycho Brahe, to governing the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia.

The famous aſtronomical tables of Tycho Brahe and Kepler bear the name of this emperor, being called the Rodolphine tables, as thoſe which were formed in the twelfth century in Spain, by two Arabians, bore the name of king Alphonſo. The Germans principally diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this century by the beginnings of true natural philoſophy. They had never ſucceeded in the liberal arts like the Italians; indeed they never applied themſelves to them. The gift of invention in the natural ſciences belongs only to thoſe of an unwearied and induſtrious diſpoſition; and the Germans had for a long time been remarkable for this kind of genius, which had communicated itſelf to their northern neighbours. Tycho Brahe was a native of Denmark. It was no ſmall matter of ſurprize, eſpecially at that time, to ſee a private gentleman of Denmark expend one hundred thouſand crowns of his own fortune, in building, with the aſſiſtance of Frederick II. king of that country, not only an obſervatory, but a ſmall town inhabited by learned men, to which he gave the name of Uranibourg *, or the Starry City. Tycho Brahe

* Uranibourg would be better tranſlated Heavenburgh, for Οὐρανὸς ſignifies *cælum*, not *aſtrum*. Tycho Brahe was a ſtrange compoſition of learning and ſuperſtition, of good

rable condition than that of France, before the peaceful and happy reign of Henry IV.

In the year 1619, the æra of the death of the emperor Matthias, who was Rodolph's ſucceſſor, the empire was going to paſs from the houſe of Auſtria; but Ferdinand, archduke of Gratz, found means to unite the ſuffrages in his own favour. Maximilian of Bavaria, who was his competitor in the empire, yielded it to him; he even went farther, for he ſupported the imperial throne at the expence of his blood and treaſures, and fixed the greatneſs of that houſe, which afterwards cruſhed his own. Two branches of the houſe of Bavaria, had they been united, might have changed the fate of Germany. Theſe two branches were the elector palatine and the duke of Bavaria; but there were two powerful obſtacles to their union, rivalſhip and a difference in religions. The elector-palatine, Frederick, was one of the moſt unfortnnate princes of his time, and the cauſe of long and heavy misfotrunes to Germany.

Notions of liberty never prevailed more ſtrongly in Europe than at this time. Even Hungary, Bohemia, and Auſtria, were as jealous of their privileges as the Engliſh themſelves. This ſpirit had reigned in Germany ever ſince the time of Charles V. The example of the Seven United Provinces was continually preſent with theſe people, who pretended to the ſame rights, and thought themſelves more powerful than thoſe of Holland. When the emperor Matthias, in the year 1618, got his couſin Ferdinand de Gratz elected nominal king of Hungary and Bohemia, and made the other archdukes yield him

him Auſtria, the people of Hungary, Bohemia, and Auſtria, complained equally that ſufficient regard had not been ſhewn to the privilege of ſtates. Religion made a part of the grievances of the Bohemians, who then became furious. The proteſtants wanted to rebuild the churches which had been thrown down by the catholics; the council of ſtate iſſued a declaration againſt the proteſtants; upon which theſe broke into the town-hall, and threw three of the principal magiſtrates out of the window into the ſtreet. This ſally only ſhews the fury of the people, a fury which always exceeds the tyranny of which they complain. But what is very ſtrange is, that the rebels pretended by a manifeſto that they had only acted in purſuance to the laws, and that they had a right to break the necks of thoſe miniſters who went about to oppreſs them. Auſtria ſided with the Bohemians, and it was in the midſt of theſe troubles that Ferdinand de Gratz was elected emperor. 1618

His new dignity made no impreſſion upon the proteſtants of Bohemia, who were at that time very conſiderable: they looked upon themſelves as entitled to depoſe the king whom they had elected, and actually made a tender of the throne to Frederick, the elector-palatine, ſon-in-law to James I. of England *, who accepted, of it, tho' he had no forces to maintain himſelf on it. His relation, Maximilian of Bava-

* Their daughter, the princeſs Sophia, was grandmother to the late king George II. and dying in the reign of queen Anne, the ſucceſſion to the throne of Great Britain devolved to her ſon George, elector of Hanover.

ria, with the imperial troops and his own, de-
Nov. 10, 1620 feated him at Prague; and, together with that battle, made him loſe his crown and palatinate.

This fatal day was the beginning of a thirty years ſlaughter. The victory of Prague determined for ſome time the ancient quarrel between the empire and the emperor, by making Ferdinand II deſpotic: he put the elector palatine under the ban of the empire by a private arret of his aulic council, and proſcribed all the
1621 princes and noblemen of his party, in defiance of the imperial articles, which could bind only the weakeſt ſide.

The elector-palatine fled into Sileſia, Denmark, Holland, England, and France. This unfortunate prince always failed of ſucceſs, and was deprived of every reſource on which he depended. He met with no aſſiſtance from his father-in-law the king of England, who ſhut his ears to the cries of his nation, the ſollicitations of his ſon-in-law, and the proteſtant intereſt, of which he might have been the head. Lewis XIII. refuſed him aid, notwithſtanding it was viſibly his intereſt to prevent the princes of Germany from being oppreſſed. Lewis was not at that time under the direction of cardinal Richelieu. The palatine family and the proteſtant league were ſoon reduced to depend on no other aſſiſtance than that of two warriors, who were each at the head of a little vagabond army, like the Italian Condottieri: one of theſe was the prince of Brunſwick, whoſe whole dominions conſiſted in the government, or rather uſurpation of the biſhopric of Halberſtadt; and who took the title of "The Friend of God and

and the Enemy of the Prieſts;" which latter title he certainly deſerved, ſince he ſubſiſted entirely on plundering the churches: the other ſupport of this already ruined party was a baſtard-adventurer of the houſe of Mansfeldt, as well deſerving the title of "Enemy of the Prieſts" as the duke of Brunſwick. Theſe two defenders might very well contribute to ravage a part of Germany, but could never be of any ſervice in reſtoring the palatine, or ſettling the equilibrium of princes.

The emperor, whoſe power in Germany was now confirmed, aſſembles a 1623
diet at Ratiſbon, in which he declares, "That the elector-palatine having been guilty of high treaſon, his eſtates, goods, and digni- 1623
ties were fallen to the imperial demeſnes; but that, not being willing to diminiſh the number of the electors, he wills, commands, and orders Maximilian of Bavaria to be inveſted with the electorate-palatine." He beſtowed this inveſtiture from his throne; his vice-chancellor declaring aloud, that the emperor conferred this dignity "By the plenitude of his power."

The proteſtant league, now on the point of being cruſhed, made freſh efforts to prevent its total ruin. It choſe Chriſtian IV. king of Denmark for its head; England ſupplied it with ſome money; but neither the money of the Engliſh, nor the troops of Denmark, nor yet the arms of Brunſwick or Manſfeldt, availed aught againſt the emperor, and only ſerved to lay Germany waſte. Ferdinand II. triumphed over all oppoſition by his two generals, the duke of Walſtein and count Tilly. The king of Denmark was always defeated at

the head of his armies; and Ferdinand, without ſtirring from home, was victorious and all powerful.

He put the duke of Mecklenburg, one of the chiefs of the proteſtant aſſociation, under the ban of the empire, and gave his dutchy to his general Walſtein. He in like manner proſcribed duke Charles of Mantua, for having, contrary to his orders, taken poſſeſſion of the country which belonged to him by the right of inheritance. Mantua was taken and ſacked by the imperial troops, who ſpread terror throughout all Italy. He began to tighten the ancient chain which had linked Italy to the empire, and which had been ſlackened for a conſiderable time. One hundred and fifty thouſand ſoldiers, living at diſcretion in Germany, gave him abſolute power. This power was exerciſed over a people then under very unhappy circumſtances, as we may judge by the ſtate of the coin at that time, the numerical value of which was four times greater than its original value, and was at the ſame time greatly adulterated. The duke of Walſtein declared publicly, that the time was at length come for reducing the electors to the condition of the dukes and peers of France, and the biſhops to that of chaplains to the emperor. This was the Walſtein who afterwards aimed at becoming independent, and who had endeavoured to pull down his ſuperiors, only to riſe upon their ruin.

But the uſe which Ferdinand II. made of his good fortune and power, was what deſtroyed both the one and the other. He pretended to interpoſe his authority in the affairs of Sweden and Poland,

Poland, and to oppoſe Guſtavus Adolphus, who was ſupporting the pretenſions of his family againſt Sigiſmund king of Poland, this emperor's relation; and he himſelf paved the way to his own ruin, by forcing this young prince to invade Germany, and by reducing the proteſtants to deſpair.

Ferdinand II. thought himſelf with reaſon powerful enough to break the peace of Paſſau, made by Charles V. and to order, by his ſole authority, all the princes and great lords to reſtore the biſhoprics and eccleſiaſtical benefices which they had gotten poſſeſſion of. This edict was a greater ſtretch of power than that by which the edict of Nantz was revoked under Lewis XIV. Theſe two ſimilar attempts were attended with very different ſucceſs. Guſtavus Adolphus, being invited by the proteſtant princes, whom the king of Denmark no longer dared to aſſiſt, entered Germany to revenge them and himſelf.

The emperor wanted to re-eſtabliſh the church, that he might be its maſter, and cardinal Richelieu oppoſed him in his deſign; even the court of Rome joined againſt him, the fear of his power being greater than their regard to the intereſts of religion. It was no more extraordinary that the moſt Chriſtian king's miniſter, and even the court of Rome itſelf, ſhould engage in the ſupport of the proteſtant cauſe, againſt a formidable emperor, than it had been to ſee Francis I. and Henry II. in alliance with the Turks againſt Charles V.

When one man has done many great things, we are fond of aſcribing all to him. It is a common but miſtaken notion in France, that

cardinal Richelieu was the only perſon who cauſed Guſtavus to turn his arms upon Germany, and that the revolution there was entirely owing to his ſchemes; but it is evident that he did nothing more than take advantage of conjunctures. Ferdinand II. had in fact declared war againſt Guſtavus; he attempted to ſeize upon Livonia, which that young conqueror had made himſelf maſter of; he ſupported Sigiſmund, who was his competitor in the kingdom of Sweden, and he refuſed him the title of king. Intereſt, revenge, and pride *, called Guſtavus into Germany; and even if the French miniſtry had not aſſiſted him with money, when in Pomerania, he would ſtill have tried the fortune of arms, in a war that was already begun.

1631 He was victorious in Pomerania, at the time France made its treaty with him. The ſingle payment of three hundred thouſand crowns, and an allowance of one million two hundred thouſand franks *per ann.* was neither an important object, a great effort in politics, nor a ſufficient ſuccour. Guſtavus did every thing by himſelf. Having entered Germany with leſs than fifteen thouſand men, his number ſoon encreaſed to forty thouſand, by raiſing recruits in a country that furniſhed ſubſiſtence for them, and by making Germany itſelf contribute to his conqueſts in Germany. He obliges the elector of Brandenburg to ſe-

* Our author might have added the ſollicitations and ſubſidies of Charles I. king of England, who being anxious for the reſtoration of the palatine, not only aſſiſted him with money, but alſo with a great number of excellent officers, and ſix thouſand men from Scotland, under the command of the Marquis of Hamilton.

cure

cure to him the fortreſs of Spandau and all the paſſes, and compels the elector of Saxony to give him the command of his own troops.

He totally defeats the imperial army commanded by count Tilly, before the gates of Leipſick, and reduces all the places from the banks of the Elb to the Rhine. He preſently reinſtates the duke of Mecklenburg in his dominions at one end of Germany, and almoſt at the ſame inſtant he appears at the other end, in the Palatinate, after taking the city of Mentz in his march. Sept. 17. 1631

The emperor, who remained all this time motionleſs in Vienna, and ſaw himſelf, in leſs than one campaign, fallen from that greatneſs which had been ſo formidable, was now obliged to ſollicit pope Urban VIII. for a ſupply of men and money, who refuſed him both the one and the other. He then endeavoured to engage the court of Rome to publiſh a cruſade againſt Guſtavus. Inſtead of a cruſade, the holy father promiſes a jubilee. Guſtavus in the mean time marches victorious through all Germany, and brings the elector-palatine to Munich, who had at leaſt the conſolation of being in the palace of him who had depoſed him. This unfortunate prince was now on the point of being reſtored to his palatinate, and even to the crown of Bohemia, by the hand of the conqueror, when in the ſecond battle, near Leipſic, fought in the plains of Lutzen, Guſtavus was ſlain* in the Nov. 6, 1632

* The manner of his death is differently related by different hiſtorians. Puffendorf imputes it to the treachery

midſt of victories. His death proved fatal to the palatine, who being at that time ill, and deſpairing of any farther reſource, put an end to his unhappy life *.

Let thoſe who enquire how the ſwarms of barbarians, which formerly came out of the North, conquered the Roman empire, caſt their eyes upon what was performed by Guſtavus in the ſpace of two years, againſt a more warlike people than the Romans were at that time, and they will be no longer aſtoniſhed.

It is a circumſtance well worthy of attention, that neither the death of Guſtavus, nor the minority of his daughter Chriſtina, queen of Sweden, nor the bloody defeat which the Swedes ſuſtained at Nortlingen, prejudiced theſe conqueſts. It was then that the French miniſtry played the principal part in the affairs of Germany; it gave laws to the Swedes and the proteſtant princes of Germany, at the ſame time that it ſupported them; and this firſt gained the king of France Alſace, at the expence of the houſe of Auſtria.

Guſtavus Adolphus had left behind him very great generals, who were formed by himſelf; this has happened to almoſt all conquerors. Theſe generals were ſeconded by a hero of the houſe of Saxony, duke Bernard of Weimar, a deſcendant of the ancient electoral branch, which had been deprived of their dominions by Charles V. who yet breathed revenge

of Francis Albert, duke of Saxe-Lawenburg: but the truth is, he happened in reconnoitring with two equerries, to fall among a party of imperial Cuiraſſiers, by whom he was ſlain, after having made a deſperate defence.

* The palatine did not mak away with himſelf; but died of a fever, occaſioned by grief.

againſt

againſt the houſe of Auſtria. This prince had nothing to depend upon but a ſmall army which he had raiſed in the troubleſome times, and diſciplined himſelf, and whoſe ſwords were their only ſupport. This army, as well as that of the Swedes, was then paid by the French. The emperor, who never ſtirred out of his cloſet, had no great general left to oppoſe to them; he had deprived himſelf of the only perſon who was capable of reſtoring the glory of his arms and throne; he was fearful that the famous duke Walſtein, to whom he had given an unlimited power over his armies, ſhould make uſe of ſo dangerous a power againſt him, and cauſed that general, who aimed at independency, to be aſſaſſinated *. Feb. 3. 1634

In this way did Ferdinand I. rid himſelf of cardinal Martinuſius, who was grown too powerful in Hungary; and Henry III. in like manner cauſed the cardinal and the duke of Guiſe to be murdered.

Had Ferdinand II. commanded his troops in perſon, as he ought to have done in ſuch a critical conjuncture, he would not have had occaſion to employ this weak revenge, which he thought neceſſary, and which after all did not make him more happy.

Never was Germany more completely humbled than at this time: a Swediſh chancellor

* Albert Winceſlaus Euſebius, count of Walſtein, duke of Mecklenbourg, Friedland, Segan, and Glogau, was aſſaſſinated at Egra, by three imperial officers, Leſly, Gordon, and Butler, the two firſt Scots, and the other an Iriſhman. The duke and his friends were firſt regaled at ſupper, and then perfidiouſly murdered by theſe infamous tools of arbitrary power.

ruled

ruled in that empire, and kept all proteſtant princes in ſubjection. This was the famous Oxenſtiern, who, animated in the beginning with the ſpirit of his maſter Guſtavus, would not ſuffer the French to ſhare the fruits of that prince's conqueſts; but, after the battle of Nortlingen, he was obliged to intreat the French miniſter to deign to take poſſeſſion of Alſace, under the title of its protector. Richelieu promiſed Alſace to Bernard of Weimar, and at the ſame time did all in his power to ſecure it to France. Hitherto the French miniſtry had temporiſed and acted underhand; but now it pulled off the maſk, and declared war againſt the two branches of the houſe of Auſtria, who were both of them weakened in Spain and Germany. Such was the iſſue of this thirty years war. France, Sweden, Holland, and Savoy, attacked the houſe of Auſtria at the ſame time, and the real ſyſtem of Henry IV. was now followed.

Feb. 15. 1637 Ferdinand II. died under theſe unhappy circumſtances, at the age of fifty-nine, after a reign of eighteen years, conſtantly diſturbed with foreign or domeſtic wars, and having never fought but from his cabinet. He was very unhappy, becauſe in the midſt of his ſucceſſes he thought himſelf obliged to exerciſe acts of cruelty, and afterwards he experienced a great reverſe. Germany was ſtill more unhappy than himſelf; ravaged alternately by its own inhabitants, by the Swedes, and by the French; a prey to famine and want, and over-run with barbariſm, the inevitable conſequence of a long and unſucceſsful war.

This

This emperor has been praiſed as a great prince, and yet Germany was never ſo miſerable as under his government. It was comparatively happy under that Rodolph who is ſo generally deſpiſed.

Ferdinand II. left the empire to his ſon Ferdinand III. who was already king of the Romans; but he left only a diſmembered empire, of which France and Sweden ſhared the ſpoils.

During the reign of Ferdinand III. the Auſtrian power daily declined. The Swedes, who had ſettled in Germany, remained there; France, joined with them, ſtill continued to aſſiſt the proteſtant party with money and arms; and, though ſhe herſelf was embarraſſed with an unſucceſsful war againſt Spain, and her miniſtry had frequently conſpiracies or civil wars to ſuppreſs, nevertheleſs ſhe triumphed over the empire, as a wounded man, with a little aſſiſtance, overcomes his enemy who is deeper wounded than himſelf. Duke Bernard of Weimar, the deſcendant of the unfortunate duke of Saxony, who had been diſpoſſeſſed by Charles V. revenged the ſufferings of his family on the houſe of Auſtria. He had been one of Guſtavus's generals, who to a man maintained the glory of Sweden after their maſter's death; and he was the moſt fatal of all of them to the emperor. At firſt indeed he loſt the great battle of Nortlingen; but afterwards, having with French money got together an army who acknowledged no other maſter than himſelf, in leſs than four months he gained four battles againſt the Imperialiſts. He had even thoughts of raiſing a ſovereignty to himſelf along the borders

ders of the Rhine. The court of France had guarantied Alſace to him by treaty.

1639 This new conqueror died at the age of thirty-five, and bequeathed his army to his brothers, as a perſon bequeaths an eſtate. But France, who had more money than Weimar's brothers, bought this army, and carried on its conqueſts for herſelf. The mareſchal de Guebriant, the viſcount of Turenne, and the duke of Anguien, afterwards the great Condé, finiſhed what the duke of Weimar had begun. The Swediſh generals, Bannier and Torſtenſon, preſſed Auſtria on one ſide, while Turenne and Condé attacked it on the other.

1648 Ferdinand III. wearied out with ſo many ſhocks, was at length obliged to conclude the peace of Weſtphalia. By this famous treaty the French and the Swedes gave laws to Germany in politics and religion. The diſpute between the emperors and the princes of the empire, which had laſted *for* above ſeven hundred years, was at length *happily* terminated.

Germany was a great ariſtocracy, compoſed of a king, electors, princes, and imperial cities. This empire which was already almoſt exhauſted, was obliged moreover to pay ſix millions of rix-dollars to the Swedes, who had ravaged it and made it ſue for peace. The kings of Sweden became princes of the empire, by the ceſſion made to them of the fineſt provinces of Pomerania, Stettin, Wiſmar, Rugen, Verden, Bremen, and ſeveral other very conſiderable territories. The king of France became land-

grave

grave of Alſace, without being a prince of the empire.

The Palatine family was at length reſtored to all its rights, excepting in the Upper Palatinate, which continued with the branch of Bavaria. The claims of the meaneſt private gentleman were diſcuſſed before the plenipotentiaries, as in a ſupreme court of juſtice. There were an hundred and forty decrees of reſtitution ordered, all which were complied with. The three religions, the Roman catholic, the Lutheran, and the Calviniſt, were equally tolerated. The imperial chamber was compoſed of twenty-four proteſtant, and twenty-ſix catholic members; and the emperor was even obliged to receive ſix proteſtants into his aulic council at Vienna.

Had it not been for this peace, Germany would have become what it had been under the deſcendants of Charlemagne, an almoſt ſavage country. All the towns from Sileſia to the Rhine were ruined, the lands lay fallow, and the villages uninhabited. The city of Magdeburg, which had been burnt to the ground by count Tilly*, was not yet rebuilt. The trade of

* John Tzerclaes, count de Tilly, was one of the greateſt captains of the age in which he lived. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a particular manner at the battle of Prague; he defeated Mansfeldt near Elbogen; routed the margrave of Baden at Wimpfen; gave Mansfeldt a ſecond overthrow in the neighbourhood of Darmſtadt; gained a complete victory over the duke of Halberſtadt at Statlo, and defeated the army of Denmark at Lutter, in the dutchy of Brunſwick. He took a great number of towns, and proceeded with equal rapidity and ſucceſs, till the year 1631, when he was overthrown in a pitched battle at Leipſic, by Guſtavus Adolphus king

of Augſburg and Nuremburg was entirely deſtroyed. There were no manufactories in the empire but thoſe of iron and ſteel; money was extremely ſcarce; all the conveniencies of life were unknown; the manners were affected by the harſhneſs which thirty years civil war had infuſed into all minds. In ſhort, it has required an age to ſupply Germany with all that it wanted. The French refugees were the firſt who introduced this improvement, and no country has profited ſo much as Germany by the revoking the edict of Nantz. Every thing elſe has been brought about of itſelf, or by time. The arts have ſpread themſelves from place to place; and Germany is at length become as flouriſhing as Italy was in the ſixteenth century, when ſo many princes vied with each other in the ſplendor and politeneſs of their courts.

king of Sweden. He reaſſembled and recruited his forces, and gained ſome advantages over count Horn; but next year, at the paſſage of the Lech, he was mortally wounded, and died at Ingolſtadt, unmarried. It is remarked of this great man, that he never drank wine, and never knew woman.

CHAP.

CHAP. CXLIX.

Of ENGLAND till the Year 1641.

AS the Spaniſh monarchy grew weak after Philip II. and France fell to decay and confuſion after the reign of Henry IV. till reſtored again by the great ſucceſſes of cardinal de Richelieu, ſo did the kingdom of England droop for a long time after the reign of Elizabeth. Her ſucceſſor, James I. ought to have had more influence in Europe than herſelf, as having joined the crown of Scotland to that of England, and yet his reign was far leſs glorious.

It is to be obſerved that the laws of ſucceſſion in England had not that inconteſtable ſanction and force which they had in France and Spain. They reckon among James's chief rights, the will made by Elizabeth *, in which ſhe calls him to the ſucceſſion; and James himſelf was in continual apprehenſion, leſt he ſhould not be named in the will of a queen ſo beloved and reſpected by her people, who would neceſſarily be determined by her laſt deſires.

* Queen Elizabeth never made a will, and conſtantly refuſed to name her ſucceſſor. After ſhe was deprived of the uſe of ſpeech, the noblemen of her council deſired ſhe would give ſome token of her approving James as her ſucceſſor, and ſhe laid her hand upon her head as a mark of approbation: but if ſhe had made no ſuch ſign, the ſucceſſion was already ſo ſettled, that the crown would have quietly devolved to the king of Scotland.

Not-

Notwithſtanding his great obligation to Elizabeth's will, he did not put on mourning for the murdreſs of his mother. As ſoon as he was acknowledged king, he looked upon himſelf as ſuch by divine right, and for that reaſon aſſumed the title of "Sacred Majeſty." This was the firſt foundation of the nation's diſcontent, and of the unparallelled misfortunes of his ſon and his poſterity †.

In the firſt part, which was the moſt peaceable of his reign, there was formed one of the moſt horrid conſpiracies that ever entered into the human imagination: all the other plots which revenge, politics, or the barbarity of civil wars, and even fanaticiſm itſelf had produced, were not to compare in blackneſs to the powder plot. The Engliſh Roman catholics expected greater conceſſions from the king than he choſe to grant them. Some of them, more outrageous than the reſt, and poſſeſſed with that gloomy melancholy which engenders the greateſt crimes, had reſolved to reſtore their religion in England, by extirpating at one blow the king, the royal family, and all the peers of the kingdom. One Piercy, of the Northumberland family, Robert Cateſby, and others, contrived a ſcheme to place thirty-ſix barrels of gunpowder

† This trifling cauſe is by no means adequate to the great effects it is ſuppoſed to have produced. The commons of England were by this time grown rich and powerful. They reſolved to aſſert their independency, and vindicate their privileges in the face of the prerogative; and never could have found a better opportunity than this of ſtruggling againſt a foreign prince who had no perſonal intereſt in the kingdom, and was beſides ridiculous and abſurd enough in his conduct, to weaken the authority of his crown.

under

under the houſe of lords, where the king was to make his ſpeech to the parliament. Never was crime more eaſy to be executed, nor attended with a more certain proſpect of ſucceſs. No one could have the leaſt ſuſpicion of ſo new a contrivance, nor could any thing happen to obſtruct it. The thirty-ſix barrels of powder, which had been bought in Holland at different times, were placed ready immediately under the houſe of lords, in a coal-cellar, which Piercy had ſeveral months before hired for the purpoſe. They now waited only for the meeting of the parliament; and there was nothing to fear, unleſs the remorſe of ſome one of the conſpirators; but the two Jeſuits, Garnet and Aldecorn, who were their confeſſors, had taken care to remove all ſcruples of conſcience. Piercy, who could without pity be the inſtrument of deſtroying the king and all the nobility of the nation, felt an emotion of compaſſion for one of his friends, the lord Monteagle, who was a peer of the kingdom. This private attachment prevented the execution of the deſign. He wrote a letter to Monteagle *, in a feigned hand, adviſing him, "If he had any regard to his life, to be abſent at the opening of the ſeſſion, for God and man had concurred to puniſh the wickedneſs of the times. The danger, added the writer, will be paſt in as little time as you ſhall take to burn the letter." Feb. 7, 1605

* It does not appear that this letter was written by Piercy: but the notice was probably given by Treſham, one of the conſpirators, who was related to the lady of the lord Monteagle.

Piercy

Piercy was ſo ſecure, that he never imagined it poſſible for any one to gueſs that the whole parliament was to be blown up: however, the letter being read in the king's council, and no one being able to gueſs at the nature of the intended plot, of which there does not appear the leaſt probable intimation, the king, after ſome few minutes reflection upon the ſhort time that the danger was to laſt, fell upon the true deſign of the conſpirators. Perſons were ſent by his orders the very night before the opening of the parliament to ſearch the vaults and cellars under the houſe; there they found a man at the cellar-door, with a match in his hand, and a horſe waiting for him; and upon ſearching they found the barrels of powder.

Piercy, and the chief of the conſpirators, upon hearing of the diſcovery of their plot, had time to raiſe about an hundred catholic gentlemen, who all ſold their lives dearly: only eight of the conſpirators were taken and executed; amongſt theſe were the two Jeſuits. The king declared that they had ſuffered according to law; but their order declared them innocent, and made martyrs of them. Such was the ſpirit of the age in all thoſe countries where the minds of mankind were blinded and led aſtray by religious diſputes.

The gunpowder-plot was the only great inſtance of cruelty that the Engliſh gave the world during the reign of James I. Far from being a perſecutor, that monarch openly embraced toleration, and even ſtrongly cenſured the preſbyterians, who taught at that time

that

that hell was the infallible portion of every papiſt.

He governed in uninterrupted peace for the ſpace of twenty-two years, during all which time trade flouriſhed, and the people lived in plenty. Nevertheleſs his reign was contemptible both at home and abroad; abroad, becauſe, as being the head of the proteſtant party in Europe, he neglected to ſupport it againſt its catholic adverſaries in the grand criſis of the Bohemian war, and abandoned his ſon-in-law the elector-palatine: he treated when he ſhould have fought, and was a dupe at the ſame time to the courts of Vienna and Madrid; he was continually ſending ſplendid ambaſſies, and never had an ally †.

His little ſhare of credit among other nations contributed not a little to make him deſpiſed in his own. His authority in England had ſuffered great diminution from his attempts to give it too much weight and luſtre; by continually telling his parliament, that God had made him abſolute maſters over them, and that all their privileges were derived from the favour and condeſcenſion of his predeceſſors. By theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches he put the parliament upon examining into the limits of the royal

† About this time there was a theatrical piece exhibited at Bruſſels, in which a courier was introduced declaring the melancholy tidings, that the palatinate would ſoon be wreſted from the emperor; inaſmuch as the king of Denmark had agreed to furniſh the expelled elector with one hundred thouſand pickled herrings; the Dutch had reſolved to give him the like number of butter-boxes; and the king of England to employ one hundred thouſand ambaſſadors.

pre-

prerogative, and the extent of the national rights; and from that time they endeavoured to ſet bounds which they did not well underſtand. The king's eloquence only tended to ſubject him to ſevere criticiſms, and the world did not his learning all the juſtice he expected from it. Henry IV. never called him by any other name than *Maſter James*, and his own ſubjects did not beſtow more gracious titles upon him. Accordingly he told his parliament in one of his ſpeeches, "I have piped to you, and you have not danced; I have mourned to you, and you have not lamented." By thus ſubjecting his prerogative to be canvaſſed by idle ſpeeches badly received, he hardly ever obtained the ſupplies he demanded. His bounties and neceſſities obliged him, like many other princes, to diſpoſe of dignities and titles, which the vanity of mankind is always ready to purchaſe. He created two hundred baronets †, a ſpecies of nobility between a baron and a knight, to deſcend as an hereditary title. For this inſignificant honour, each perſon paid two thouſand pounds ſterling. The only privilege enjoyed by theſe baronets was that of taking place of a knight: neither of them had a place in the houſe of peers; and this new diſtinction was very little regarded by the reſt of the nation.

What chiefly alienated the affections of the Engliſh from him, was his giving himſelf en-

† He created only one hundred baronets by patents, obliging them to maintain a certain number of ſoldiers in Ireland; but this ſervice was commuted for a ſum of money. He likewiſe raiſed money by creating a certain number of knights of Nova Scotia, who purchaſed this diſtinction.

tirely

tirely up to favourites. Lewis XIII. Philip III. and James, were at one and the ſame time a prey to the ſame foible; and while the firſt was abſolutely governed by Cadenet, whom he created duke of Luines, and the ſecond by Sandoval, made duke of Lerma, James was wholly under the direction of a Scotchman, named Carr, whom he created earl of Somerſet, and whom he afterwards left for George Villiers, as a woman leaves one lover for another.

This George Villiers is the ſame duke of Buckingham, who was at that time ſo celebrated in Europe for the beauty of his perſon, his amours, and his lofty pretenſions. He was the firſt gentleman who had been made a duke in England, without being either a relation or an ally to the ſovereign. It was one of the caprices of the human mind, that a king who wrote like a divine in controverſial points, ſhould give himſelf up, without reſerve, to a hero of romance. Buckingham perſuaded the prince of Wales, afterwards the unfortunate Charles I. to viſit Spain in diſguiſe, without any attendants, and go to Madrid to make love to the infanta, who was then propoſed for a match to this young prince, offering to accompany him as his eſquire in this knight errant expedition. James, who was called the Engliſh Solomon, agreed to this extraordinary project, in which he hazarded the ſafety of his ſon and heir.

The more he was obliged to manage the houſe of Auſtria, the leſs able he was to aſſiſt the proteſtant cauſe or his ſon-in-law the palatine.

To make this romantic adventure complete, the duke of Buckingham, who had fallen in

love with the dutcheſs of Olivarez, affronted the duke her huſband, who was prime miniſter, broke off the match with the infanta, and brought the prince of Wales back again to England as ſuddenly as he had taken him away. He immediately ſet on foot a treaty of marriage between Charles and the princeſs Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV. and ſiſter to Lewis XIII. and though he behaved ſtill more extravagantly in France than he had done in Spain, he ſucceeded in his negociation. But James never recovered the credit he had loſt with his people. His high-flown notions of the royal prerogative, and the divine right of kings with which he perpetually interlarded all his ſpeeches, and which he never maintained by his actions, gave birth to a faction which afterwards overturned the throne, and diſpoſed of it more than once, after having ſtained it with blood. This faction was that of the puritans, which partly ſubſiſts to this day, under the title of the whig party; and the oppoſite faction, which ſtood up for the church of England and the royal prerogative, has taken the name of tories. Theſe mutual animoſities inſpired the nation from that time with a cruel, outrageous, and gloomy ſpirit, which nipped the arts and ſciences in the bud, that were as yet hardly diſcloſed.

Some men of genius had, in the reign of Elizabeth, cultivated the field of literature, which till then had lain fallow in England. Shakeſpear, and after him Ben Johnſon *, had poliſhed the ſtage. Spencer had revived epic poetry: Bacon, who had more merit as a ſcholar than a chancellor, opened a new road to philoſophy. The underſtandings of men began to be poliſhed

* Johnſon was cotemporary with Shakeſpear.

and improved. The diſputes of the clergy, and the bickerings between the king and his parliament brought back the age of barbariſm.

It was a matter of no ſmall difficulty to aſcertain the juſt bounds of the royal prerogative, the parliamentary privileges, and the liberties of the people, as well in England as Scotland, as likewiſe to ſettle thoſe of the Epiſcopal authority in both kingdoms. Henry VIII. had broken down all the fences of the conſtitution; † Elizabeth, at her acceſſion, found ſome that had been newly ſettled, which ſhe lowered and raiſed with a happy dexterity. James I. waſted his time in diſputing, and while he pretended to level them all, he left them all ſtanding: however the nation, who was put upon its guard by his declarations, prepared to defend them in caſe of an attack. Charles I. ſoon after his acceſſion, attempted to execute what his father had too frequently propoſed, without having ever effected.

It was in England, as well as in Germany, Poland, Sweden, and Denmark, in the power of the people to grant ſubſidies to the ſovereign in the nature of a free and voluntary gift. Charles I. was deſirous to aſſiſt his brother-in-law the elector-palatine, and the proteſtants againſt the emperor. His father James had at length entered upon the ſame deſign towards the latter part of his reign, when it was too late. Money was wanting to raiſe troops to ſend into the lower Palatinate, and for defraying other expences; it is this metal alone that

† He had not broken them down, but overleaped them occaſionally.

confers power, ſince it has become the repreſentative of all things. The king then demanded it as a debt, and the parliament would not grant it otherwiſe than a free gift; and before they would grant even this, inſiſted upon a redreſs of grievances. Were they to wait for a redreſs of grievances in every nation before they could procure ſupplies for raiſing troops, they would never be able to make war. Charles I. had been perſuaded to this armament by his ſiſter, the princeſs palatine: it was ſhe who had forced her huſband to accept the crown of Bohemia, who had for five years together vainly ſollicited the king her father for aſſiſtance, and at length obtained it after it had been ſo long deferred, through the intereſt and inſtigation of the duke of Buckingham. The parliament granted but a very inconſiderable ſupply. There had been ſome inſtances in England of kings, who not being willing to call a parliament, and being in need of money, had raiſed ſums from private perſons, by way of loan. This loan was extorted; thoſe who lent their money uſually loſt it, and thoſe who refuſed were impriſoned. Theſe arbitrary methods had been practiſed on certain preſſing occaſions, where the prince was ſufficiently powerful to exerciſe ſmall arts of oppreſſion with impunity. Charles made uſe of the ſame method, but with reſtrictions, and borrowed ſome few ſums with which he equipped a fleet, and raiſed troops, which returned without doing any thing.

1626 A new parliament was now to be called. The houſe of commons, inſtead of aſſiſting the king's neceſſities, impeached the duke of Buckingham, whoſe power and inſolence diſguſted the whole nation. Charles,

unable to bear the inſult offered him in the perſon of his miniſter, committed two of the members *, who had been the moſt forward in accuſing him, priſoners to the Tower. He did not, however, properly ſupport this arbitrary act, which was indeed a direct violation of the laws; and his weakneſs in releaſing the two members, emboldened thoſe whom their impriſonment had irritated. He had alſo confined a peer of the kingdom †, on the ſame account, whom he likewiſe ſet at liberty in the ſame manner. This was not the way to procure ſupplies; accordingly, they would not grant him any. The extorted loans were therefore continued, and ſoldiers were quartered upon the houſes of thoſe burghers who were backward in their contributions. Such a conduct could not fail to alienate all minds from him. The general diſcontent was farther increaſed by the duke of Buckingham, who was returned from his diſgraceful expedition to Rochelle.

A third parliament was convoked; but this was only aſſembling a number of exaſperated ſubjects, who thought of nothing but reſtoring the national rights and the privileges of parliament. They began by voting that the habeas corpus act ‡, which was the guardian of their liberties, could not ſuffer encroachment;

* Sir Dudley Digges, and Sir John Elliot.

† The earl of Arundel.

‡ The habeas corpus act was afterwards paſſed as an explanation of that article in Magna Charta, importing that no freeman ſhall be arreſted or impriſoned, except by the legal judgment of his peers, or by an expreſs law of the land. On this occaſion the commons voted that no ſubject ſhould be impriſoned without cauſe ſhewn; and that the priſoner ſhould enjoy the privilege of the habeas corpus, even though committed by order of the king and council.

that the billetting ſoldiers upon the houſes of the burghers was a violation of the liberty and property of the ſubject; and that no money could be raiſed by any other authority than act of parliament. The king, by being too obſtinate in the ſupport of his authority, and perſiſting in his demand of a ſupply, weakened the one, but did not obtain the other. The parliament was ſtill bent upon bringing the duke of Buckingham to a trial. An Iriſh fanatic, whom the general hatred of this miniſter had inſpired with a kind of patriot fury, aſſaſſinated him in his own houſe, and in the midſt of his friends: this act ſufficiently ſhewed the degree
1628 of fury which began to ſeize upon the nation. There was a trifling duty upon the importation and exportation of merchandize, called "Tunnage and poundage." The late king had always been in poſſeſſion of this by act of parliament; and Charles thought there was no occaſion for a ſecond act to enable him to collect it. Three merchants of London having refuſed to pay this ſmall tax, the officers of the cuſtoms ſeized upon their effects. One of theſe merchants was a member of the houſe of commons. This houſe, who had its own liberties to defend in thoſe of the people, commenced a ſuit againſt the king's officers; the king, incenſed at this behaviour, diſſolved the parliament, and committed four members of the houſe priſoners to the Tower. Theſe were the weak beginnings which produced the overthrow of the ſtate, and ſtained the throne with blood.

Theſe ſources of the public calamity were farther encreaſed by a torrent of diviſions in the church of Scotland. Charles reſolved to perfect his deſigns, with reſpect to religion, as well

as the ſtate. Epiſcopacy had not been aboliſhed in Scotland, at the time of the reformation before Mary Stuart; but the proteſtant biſhops had always been kept in ſubjection by the preſbyterians. The Scotch people were governed by a kind of republic of prieſts, who were all upon an equality with each other. This was the only country in the world where riches and honours did not make the biſhops powerful. They retained their ſeats in parliament, their honorary rights, and the revenues of their ſees; but they were paſtors without a flock, and peers without credit. The Scottiſh parliament, which was wholly compoſed of preſbyterians, only ſuffered the biſhops to retain their dignity, in order to debaſe them. The ancient abbeys were all in ſecular hands, who had a place in parliament, in virtue of the title of abbot. By degrees the number of theſe titular abbots were diminiſhed. James I. reſtored epiſcopacy with all its privileges. The king of England was not acknowledged as head of the church of Scotland; but being born in that country, and having laviſhed Engliſh money in penſions and places to ſeveral of its members, he was more maſter at Edinburgh than in London. The preſbyterian aſſembly ſtill ſubſiſted as before, notwithſtanding the reſtoration of epiſcopacy. Theſe two different bodies were always thwarting each other, and the ſynodic republic generally got the better of the epiſcopal monarchy. James, who looked upon the biſhops as a body devoted to the throne, and the calviniſtical preſbyterians as enemies to the kingly dignity, thought that he ſhould be able to reconcile his Scottiſh ſubjects to epiſcopal government, by introducing a new li-

turgy amongſt them, and getting it received. This was no other than the church of England liturgy. His death prevented the accompliſhment of this deſign, which his ſon Charles now reaſſumed, and determined to carry into execution.

This liturgy conſiſted in certain forms of prayer and ceremonies, and the uſe of a ſurplice to be worn by the prieſt when officiating. The biſhop of Edinburgh had no ſooner be-
1637 gun to read the ſtatutes enacting theſe ſeveral cuſtoms, than the populace roſe in the utmoſt fury, and ſaluted him with a ſhower of ſtones. The preſbyterians immediately entered into a covenant, as if all laws, divine and human, were about to be aboliſhed: and the natural deſire of the great to ſupport their own ſchemes on one ſide, and the fury of popular oppoſition on the other, raiſed a civil war in Scotland.

It was not known at that time who fomented theſe diſturbances, nor who it was that prepared the way for the tragical end of Charles I. It was Cardinal Richelieu. This deſpotic miniſter, who wanted to hinder Mary of Medicis from finding an aſylum in England, and to engage Charles in the intereſts of France, had received a refuſal from that monarch, rather more haughty than politic, which had exaſperated him. There is a letter of the Cardinal's to the count d'Eſtrades, at that time envoy from the court of France to England, in which are thoſe remarkable words, which we have already mentioned: "The king and queen of England ſhall repent their having neglected my offers before a year is paſt, and ſhall quickly find that I am not to be deſpiſed."

He had an Iriſh prieſt, who was one of his ſecretaries; this man he ſent to London and

Edinburgh, in order to ſow diſſenſions among the preſbyterians, partly by his rhetoric and partly by money; and the letter to d'Eſtrades is another ſpring to this machine. In looking into the archives of all nations, we ſhall conſtantly find religion ſacrificed to intereſt and revenge.

The Scots took up arms. Charles had recourſe to the Engliſh clergy, and even to the catholics of the kingdom, who equally hated the presbyterians, and only furniſhed the king with money, becauſe they looked upon this as a religious war. However, he had for ſome months an army of twenty thouſand men; but they were of little ſervice to him, except in forwarding his negociations with the malcontents, and afterwards, when this army was diſbanded for want of pay, theſe negociations became more difficult. He was therefore obliged to have recourſe again to war. Hiſtory furniſhes few examples of a greatneſs of ſoul equal to that of the noblemen who compoſed the king's privy council, who, on this occaſion, contributed the greateſt part of their fortunes for their maſter's ſervice. The famous archbiſhop of Canterbury, Laud, and the marquis of Hamilton, ſignalized themſelves in a particular manner by their contributions; and the famous earl of Strafford, alone, gave a hundred and twenty thouſand pounds ſterling; but theſe ſupplies not being nearly ſufficient, the king was obliged to call another parliament. 1638. and the following years.

The houſe of commons were ſo far from looking upon the Scots as enemies, that they conſidered them as brethren, who ſet them an example

for defending their own privileges; and the king received nothing from this parliament but the ſharpeſt remonſtrances againſt the methods he had employed to raiſe thoſe ſupplies which they had refuſed to furniſh him with. All the rights which the king had aſſumed to himſelf were declared abuſive and oppreſſive; ſuch as the duty of tunnage and poundage, ſhip-money, the ſale of excluſive charters to the merchants, the billeting of ſoldiers on the citizens houſes, and, in ſhort, every thing which interfered with the liberties of the people. They likewiſe complained of a court of juſtice, called the Star Chamber, which had iſſued ſeveral ſevere decrees againſt the ſubject. Charles then diſſolved this new parliament, which greatly increaſed the diſſatisfaction of the nation.

It ſeemed as if Charles had ſtudied to ſet all ranks of people againſt him; for inſtead of ſoothing the city of London in theſe delicate circumſtances, he proſecuted it before the Star Chamber, for ſome lands in Ireland, and condemned it in a heavy fine. He continued to raiſe all the taxes, againſt which the parliament had ſo bitterly inveighed. Such a conduct in an abſolute prince would have occaſioned a revolt among his ſubjects, much more in a limited monarch. Ill ſupported by his ſubjects, and ſecretly diſquieted by the intrigues of Cardinal Richelieu, he was not able to prevent the Scottiſh army from coming as far as Newcaſtle. Having thus paved the way to his future miſfortunes, he convoked the parliament,
1640. which put the finiſhing hand to his ruin.

This ſeſſion began, as all the reſt had done, by craving redreſs of grievances, the abolition

of the Star Chamber, the ſuppreſſion of arbitrary exactions, particularly that of ſhip-money, and concluded by deſiring triennial parliaments. Charles, who had it no longer in his power to refuſe, granted all their demands. He hoped to regain his loſt authority by a little flexibility, but herein he was miſtaken. He imagined that the parliament would aſſiſt him in taking vengeance upon the Scots for their irruption into England; and inſtead of that, this very parliament made them a preſent of three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, to defray the expences they had been at in carrying on a civil war. He flattered himſelf likewiſe with ſuppreſſing the puritanical party in England; almoſt all the members of the houſe of commons were themſelves puritans. He had a tender affection for the earl of Strafford, who had devoted himſelf ſo generouſly to his ſervice; and the houſe of commons impeached this nobleman of high treaſon, purely on account of his attachment to his maſter. He was accuſed of divers miſdemeanors inevitable in tumultuous times, but all committed for the king's ſervice, and which had been effaced by the generous manner in which he had contributed to the relief of his neceſſities. However, he was condemned by his peers: but he could not be put to death without the king's conſent. The mad populace cried aloud for the blood of this loyal nobleman. The earl carried his virtue to ſuch a height, as to exhort the king to conſent to his death; and the king was weak enough to ſign this fatal act, which ſhewed his ſubjects the way to ſhed blood ſtill more precious.

CHAP. CL.

Of the Misfortunes and Death of CHARLES I.

ENGLAND, Scotland, and Ireland, were at that time divided into violent factions, as well as France; but those of France were only the cabals of princes and noblemen against a prime minister, who oppressed them; whereas the parties which distracted Charles's kingdom, were the general convulsions of all minds, a violent and fixed desire of changing the constitution of the state, an ill-concerted scheme in the royalists to establish despotic power; a madness for liberty in the people; a thirst of power in the commons; an evil design in the bishops, to crush the puritanical or calvinistical party; and, in fine, the secret and closely-pursued plan of those people, called the independents, which consisted in making use of the errors and mistakes of others, in order to render themselves their masters.

Oct. 1641. In the midst of all these troubles, the catholics of Ireland thought they had found the fairest opportunity of shaking off the English yoke; and religion and liberty, those two sources of the greatest actions, hurried them into a design, the horror of which could only be paralleled by that on the fatal day of St. Bartholomew. They plotted to rise throughout all the provinces on one day, and murder every protestant in the kingdom; and they actually massacred upwards of forty thousand.

land †. The king was at that time in Scotland, where he had but lately ſettled matters on a pacific footing, and the commons governed England. Theſe Iriſh catholics, in excuſe for this barbarous maſſacre, pretended to have received a commiſſion from the king himſelf to take up arms; and Charles, who was ſoliciting aſſiſtance againſt them, both from his Engliſh and Scottiſh ſubjects, found himſelf accuſed of the crime he was endeavouring to puniſh. The Scottiſh parliament referred the buſineſs to the commons of England, alledging with juſtice, that Ireland depended upon England. The king, therefore, returned in haſte to London. The houſe of commons thinking, or at leaſt pretending to think, that he was concerned in the Iriſh rebellion, ſent but very ſlender ſupplies of men and money to that kingdom; and at the ſame time preſented a remonſtrance to the king of the moſt virulent nature.

Among other things they deſire "his majeſty to employ in his council ſuch perſons only as ſhould be nominated by them, and even threaten him to take other meaſures in caſe of a refuſal." The houſe of commons ſent three of its members to preſent this remonſtrance to the king, who delivered upon their knees a petition, which was no other than an open declaration of war againſt him. Oliver Cromwell, who was already a member of the houſe, declared, "that if the remonſtrance did not paſs in the

† Such is the computation of moſt hiſtorians; but the whole is a ſhocking exaggeration, derived from animoſity and miſapprehenſion: if we ſhould read *four* inſtead of *forty* thouſand, we ſhould approach nearer the truth; and, we are afraid, it will be found difficult t prove that the catholics were the aggreſſors.

houſe,

houſe, he would ſell the little eſtate he had, and retire from England."

This ſpeech proves that he was then an enthuſiaſt for that liberty, which his ambition afterwards trampled upon.

Charles did not dare at that time to diſſolve the parliament; or had he attempted it, they would not have obeyed him. There were ſeveral officers of the army formerly aſſembled in Scotland, who were the king's friends, and particularly attached to his perſon. He was likewiſe ſupported by the biſhops and the few papiſt lords then in London: thoſe who had before been engaged in the powder plot, to exterminate his whole family, were now wholly devoted to his intereſt, all the reſt of the nation was againſt him. The populace, ſtirred up by the puritan party, filled the whole city with ſedition, and aſſembling in a great multitude before the houſe of lords, exclaimed, "No biſhops, no biſhops." Twelve prelates, intimidated by theſe riotous proceedings, reſolved to retire, and ſubſcribed a proteſt againſt all laws, votes, and reſolutions which ſhould be made in their abſence. The lords upon receiving this proteſt, committed them priſoners to the Tower; upon which the reſt of the biſhops ſoon afterwards withdrew from the houſe.

1642

While the king's power was thus upon the decline, one of his favourites, the lord Digby, gave him the pernicious and fatal advice to ſupport it by one vigorous ſtroke of authority. The king unhappily forgot that this was a conjuncture in which he ought not to expoſe it to any new affront, and went in perſon to the houſe

houſe of commons, to apprehend five members who had been the moſt violent againſt him, and whom he impeached of high treaſon. Theſe five members had withdrawn from the houſe: the whole houſe exclaimed againſt this violation of its privileges. The king, like a bewildered perſon, who knows not whither to turn himſelf, went from the houſe to the Guild-hall, to demand the aſſiſtance of the city. The common council, inſtead of complying with his deſire, preſent a remonſtrance againſt himſelf. He then returns to Windſor, and, in order to attone for the wrong ſtep he had taken, and which he found himſelf incapable of ſupporting, ſent a meſſage to the commons, giving them to underſtand, that "he deſiſted from his proſecution of the five members, and that he would take as much care of the privileges of parliament as of his own life." The violence of his former conduct had rendered him odious to his parliament, and his preſent conceſſions made them deſpiſe him.

The commons began now to take the whole management of the kingdom into their own hands. The peers ſit by their own right in parliament; this is the ancient privilege of the barons and feudal lords. The commons are in parliament as repreſentatives for the cities and boroughs † who elect them. The people placed much greater confidence in theſe deputies, who were their repreſentatives, than in the peers. Theſe latter, to recover the credit they had loſt with the people, adopted the general

† Not only the cities and boroughs, but the counties themſelves are repreſented in the houſe of commons.

ſentiments

ſentiments of the nation, and ſtood up for the authority of a parliament, of which they were originally the principal part.

During this confuſion, the rebellion in Ireland triumphed over the weak oppoſition which had been made to it, and the inſurgents, reeking with the blood of their countrymen, carried on their barbarities under the king's name, and that of the queen his conſort; eſpecially the latter, as ſhe was a catholic. Both houſes 1642 now propoſe to raiſe the militia; but at the ſame time inſiſt that it ſhall be commanded by ſuch officers only as they ſhould nominate. According to law, nothing can be done, touching the militia, without the king's conſent; and the parliament rightly ſuppoſed that he would never conſent to ſign an ordinance which made directly againſt himſelf. Accordingly the king withdrew, or rather fled from London, into the north of England. His queen, Henrietta of France, daughter to Henry IV. who poſſeſſed moſt of her royal father's qualities, and was active, intrepid, inſinuating, and even amorous, heroically ſupported that husband in diſtreſs, to whom ſhe had not been over faithful in his proſperity †. She ſold her furniture and jewels, borrowed money in England and Holland, which ſhe gave to her husband; and afterwards went in perſon to Holland, on pretence of accompanying her daughter, the princeſs

† We wiſh our author had been more explicit in this charge brought againſt the memory of a queen, whoſe character, in this reſpect, has not, to the beſt of our remembrance, been impeached upon any good authority.

Mary, to the prince of Orange her husband; but, in reality, to ſolicit ſuccours from that ſtate, in caſe of emergency. She negociated likewiſe at the northern courts; in a word, ſhe ſought every where for aſſiſtance, except in her own country, where the Cardinal de Richelieu, her avowed enemy, and the king her brother, were both dying.

The civil war was not yet declared. The parliament had, by its own authority, appointed one Hotham governor of Hull, a ſmall fortreſs on the ſea-coaſt of York, and which had, for a long time, been a magazine for arms and ammunition. The king appears before the place and demands admittance; Hotham cauſes the gates to be ſhut, and retaining ſome ſmall reſpect for his royal maſter, comes upon the ramparts, and on his knees aſks pardon for being obliged to diſobey him. He was afterwards oppoſed in a leſs reſpectful manner. The nation was now overſpread with manifeſtoes from the king and parliament. Thoſe noblemen who were in the king's intereſt † repair to him. He

† As our author has aſſerted above, that all the people of the kingdom were enemies to the king, except ſome officers of the army, the biſhops, the catholics, and thoſe who had been engaged in the gunpowder plot; we ſhall rectify his miſtake, by enumerating the principal perſons who attended him at York, and declared in his favour. Theſe were, lord Lyttleton, keeper of the ſeals; the marquis of Hertford, the duke of Richmond, the earls of Southampton, Devonſhire, Clare, Monmouth, Carnarvon, Cumberland, Saliſbury, Cambridge, Weſtmoreland, Rivers, Newport, Lindſey, Bath, Dorſet, Northampton, Briſtol, Berkſhire, Dover; the lords Falkland, Newark, Rich, Coventry, Capel, Grey of Ruthven, Pawlet, Saville,

He ſends to London for the great ſeal of the kingdom, without which it was ſuppoſed there could be no law enacted: however, the laws made by the parliament againſt him, were publiſhed, and obeyed as effectually as if they had had his ſanction.

Charles ſet up the royal ſtandard at Nottingham; but no one appeared except a few trained bands, and thoſe not armed. At length, by the ſupplies he received from Holland, by means of the queen, the preſents made him by the univerſity of Oxford, who ſent him all its plate, and with what the reſt of his friends could furniſh, he got together an army of about fourteen thouſand men.

The parliament, who had all the money of the kingdom at their diſpoſal, ſoon raiſed a much ſuperior force. Charles publiſhed a declaration at the head of his army, in which he proteſted, that "he would live and die in the true proteſtant religion;" and that "he would maintain the laws of the realm, and even the privileges of that parliament which was in arms

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ville, Dunſmore, Mowbray, Martravers, Howard of Charleton, Lovelace, Mohun, Seymour.---Many other noblemen were employed in the king's behalf, in different parts of the kingdom. A great number of the moſt powerful commons eſpouſed his cauſe, which was alſo ſupported by the two univerſities. All in general, whoſe manners were poliſhed, and whoſe minds were enlarged by a liberal education, adhered to the king. The oppoſite faction conſiſted of thoſe whom the court had perſonally diſobliged; of ſuch as wanted to fiſh in troubled waters; of republicans and diſſenters, comprehending a great number of corporations, manufacturers, and the lower claſs of people, inflamed with the ſpirit of fanaticiſm.

againſt

againſt him." His armies were commanded by prince Rupert, brother to the unfortunate elector palatine, Frederic*, a prince of great valour, and otherwiſe famous for his profound knowledge in natural philoſophy, in which he made ſeveral uſeful diſcoveries.

The battles of Worceſter and Edgehill, at firſt proved favourable to the royal cauſe, and the king proceeded within a ſhort diſtance of London. The queen had brought him a ſupply of artillery, arms, and ammunition, from Holland. She immediately ſet out again in queſt of new ſuccours, with which ſhe returned a few months afterwards. The parliamentarians were not, however, diſcouraged: they knew they had powerful reſources; and though ſubdued, they ſtill acted as maſters, againſt whom the king had rebelled. 1642

They condemned and executed for high treaſon, ſeveral ſubjects who had delivered up to the king his own towns; while the king, on his ſide, refrained from all repriſals on his priſoners. This alone may ſerve to juſtify, in the opinion of poſterity, a prince who appeared ſo criminal in the eyes of his own ſubjects. Politicians, indeed, cannot forgive him for having waſted ſo much time in negociating, when he ſhould have taken advantage of his firſt ſucceſs, and acted with alacrity and reſolution, as the only means of putting an end to diſputes of this nature.

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† Prince Rupert was not the brother, but the ſon of Frederick, elector palatine, who married the ſiſter of king Charles.

Tho'

1643 The' Charles and prince Rupert were beaten at Newbury †, they ſtill had the advantage of the campaign. The parliament continued ſtubborn and inflexible; and what is very extraordinary, an aſſembly of a few men conducted their deſigns with more ſteadineſs and reſolution, than a king at the head of his army.

The puritans having got the majority in both houſes, at length threw aſide the maſk. They entered into a ſolemn league with Scotland,
1644 and ſigned the famous covenant, by which they mutually agreed to deſtroy epiſcopacy. It was plain, by this covenant, that the Scottiſh and Engliſh puritans wanted to erect themſelves into a republic. This was the ſpirit of Calviniſm, which had long been at work in France upon the ſame grand deſign: it ſucceeded in Holland, but in France and England this darling ſcheme of the people could not be effected, without ſhedding oceans of blood.

† The royaliſts were victorious at Hopton-heath, Reading, Thame, Stratton, Lanſdown-hill, Roundway-downs, Briſtol, and the affair at Newbury was a drawn battle, fought with great obſtinacy, till night parted the combatants: next morning the earl of Eſſex, who commanded the parliamentarians, purſued his march to Reading, but his rear was ſeverely handled by prince Rupert, at the head of the king's cavalry. The greateſt damage the king ſuſtained in the battle, was the loſs of three worthy noblemen, the earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon, and the lord Falkland, who fell gallantly fighting for their ſovereign. In the ſecond battle at Newbury the king was attacked by a great ſuperiority of numbers; notwithſtanding which, he relieved Donnington caſtle, and retired unmoleſted to Oxford.

While

While the Presbyterians were thus arming England and Scotland, popery served on the other hand as a pretext with the Irish rebels, who still continued to oppose the troops sent against them by the parliament of England. The religious wars, under Lewis XIII. were still recent; and the invasion of Germany, by the Swedes, on the same account, was at its height. It was a deplorable circumstance that Christians should, for so many ages, have made use of the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church, as means for drenching in blood all that part of Europe where they are settled *.

The rage of civil war was cherished by that gloomy and austere behaviour which was affected by the puritans. The parliament took this opportunity to order the book of sports, composed by king James I. to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. This book had been written by the king, to shew that it was lawful to use diversions on the Lord's day, after divine service was over. They thought by this action to do a service to religion, and an insult to the reigning prince. In the course of the same year, the parliament likewise ordered, that each family should deprive itself of one meal in the week, and contribute the value of it for carrying on the war

We must not imagine that in any of the factions, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland, or even among the king's friends, or his

* The Roman catholics of Ireland complained of many other grievances than those of religion.

enemies,

enemies, there were many of thoſe deſigning ſpirits, who totally uninfluenced by the prejudices of party, only make uſe of the errors and fanaticiſm of others, in order to gain the maſtery over them. This was not the genius of theſe nations. Almoſt every one was really of the party he embraced. Thoſe who ſhifted ſides, through ſome particular diſcontent, did it with an high hand. The independents were the only party who concealed their intentions, and this for two reaſons; firſt, that as they were hardly looked upon as Chriſtians, they might have given too much umbrage to the other ſects; ſecondly, becauſe they adopted certain enthuſiaſtic notions, concerning the original ſtate of equality among mankind; and that this levelling ſyſtem muſt have hurt the ambition of the reſt.

One of the ſtrongeſt proofs of the inflexible ſternneſs which had taken poſſeſſion of all minds at that time, is the puniſhment of William Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was condemned by the parliament, after having been four years in priſon. The only crime which they could convict him of, with any ſhew of evidence, was the having made uſe of ſome of the ceremonies of the Romiſh church, at the conſecration of a church in London. He was ſentenced to be hanged, and his heart cut out and thrown in his face, the uſual puniſhment for traitors; but the commons with difficulty indulged him with decapitation *.

Charles

* Archbiſhop Laud, when brought to trial, made ſuch a vigorous defence, that the commons perceiving he could not

Charles finding the parliaments of England and Scotland both united againſt him, and being hard preſſed between their two armies, thought it neceſſary to conclude a truce with the Iriſh Roman catholics, in order to employ in his own ſervice, part of the troops that ſerved in Ireland againſt the rebels of that kingdom. This ſcheme ſucceeded, and he not only had a great number of the Engliſh from the army in Ireland, but alſo many of the Iriſh themſelves, who came to increaſe his army. Upon this the parliament openly charge him with being the author of the rebellion in Ireland. Unfortunately theſe new troops, on which he had placed ſo much dependence, were entirely defeated by lord Fairfax, the parliament's general, and the king had 1644 only the grief of having furniſhed his enemies with a plauſible pretext to accuſe him as an accomplice with the Iriſh in their barbarities.

He now became more and more unfortunate; prince Rupert, after having long maintained the honour of the king's arms, is at length beaten near York, and his army totally diſperſed by the earl of Mancheſter and 1644 lord Fairfax. Charles now retired to Oxford, where he was preſently after beſieged. The queen was then in France. The king's extreme

not be convicted in the common courſe of evidence, declared him guilty by an act of attainder. He pleaded the king's pardon, which had been conveyed to him from Oxford; but it was declared null by both houſes. Being ſentenced to the death of a common felon, he petitioned, that, as he was a prieſt, a biſhop, a privy counſellor, and a peer of the realm, he might ſuffer decapitation; a requeſt which the commons granted with difficulty.

danger

danger animates his friends to the exertion of their moſt powerful efforts. They oblige the enemy to raiſe the ſiege of Oxford. The king himſelf aſſembled a few troops, and at firſt met with ſome ſucceſs; but this interval of good fortune proved of ſhort duration. The parliament was ſtill in a condition to ſend a ſuperior army againſt him, and he is attacked by the generals Eſſex, Manchester, and Waller, at Newbury, on the road to Oxford. Cromwell was then a colonel in the parliament's army, and had already made himſelf remarkable, by ſeveral acts of extraordinary valour. It is ſaid that at this battle of Newbury, the corps commanded by the earl of Manchester, having given way, and the earl himſelf being carried along with the reſt in their precipitate flight, Cromwell, who was himſelf wounded, rode up to him and cried; "You are miſtaken, my lord, the enemy are not this way;" and immediately brought him back to the charge: in a word, moſt writers agree that the fortune of this day was chiefly owing to Cromwell. This is certain, that Cromwell, who began to have as much influence in the houſe of commons as he had reputation in the army, publicly accuſed his general of not having done his duty.

Oct. 27, 1644

The fondneſs of the Engliſh for all ſtrange things, brought to light a new ſcheme of a moſt extraordinary nature, and which perfectly explained Cromwell's true character, and proved at once the ſource of his greatneſs, the downfal of the parliament and epiſcopacy, the murder of the king, and the abolition of monarchy.

The

The ſect of independents began to make ſome noiſe. The moſt violent of the preſbyterians had joined this ſect, which reſembled the quakers in condemning the ordination of miniſters, and allowing every one to preach and expound the ſcriptures according to the talents he had received from nature; but they were at the ſame time as turbulent as the quakers were mild and peaceable. They gave a looſe to the wildeſt imaginations: they had formed the extravagant ſcheme of levelling all diſtinctions among men; and, in order to eſtabliſh this deſired equality, they had recourſe to force. Oliver Cromwell looked upon theſe people as fit inſtruments to be made uſe of in his deſigns.

The city of London, which was divided into ſeveral factions, complained bitterly that the parliament had loaded it with all the burthen of the war. Cromwell then got ſome of the independents to make a motion in the houſe for new-modelling the army, and to engage the members of both houſes to reſign all their civil and military offices. Almoſt all the profitable employs were in the hands of the members of one or the other houſe. The three generals of the parliament's army were peers; the major part of the colonels, majors, treaſurers, purveyors, and commiſſioners of all kinds, were members of the lower houſe. Did it appear probable, that ſo many perſons in power could be prevailed upon by the flattery of words, to reſign their poſts and incomes? and yet this was effected in a ſingle ſeſſion. The commons in particular, were dazzled with the proſpect of gaining an aſcendant over the minds of the people by this unexampled diſin-

tereſtedneſs. This act was called "The ſelf-denying ordinance." The peers at firſt
1645 heſitated to paſs the bill, but were ſoon overpowered by the commons. The earls of Eſſex, Denbigh, Fairfax, and Mancheſter, voluntarily reſigned their commiſſions; and the whole command of the army was beſtowed upon ſir Thomas Fairfax, the general's ſon, as not being a member of parliament. This was juſt what Cromwell wanted; he had an abſolute power over this new general, as indeed he had over the houſe of commons, who continued him in the command of his regiment, notwithſtanding he was a member, and even ordered the general to give him the command of a detachment of horſe, which was directed to march to Oxford. This very man, who had ſo artfully deprived all the members of their military employs, had likewiſe the addreſs to get the officers of the independent party continued in their poſts, and from that time it was eaſy to be perceived that the army would give laws to the parliament.

The new general, Fairfax, with the aſſiſtance of Cromwell, new-modelled the whole army, incorporated ſome regiments into others, made a total change in all the military corps, and eſtabliſhed a new diſcipline; all this, which at any other time would have excited a revolt, now paſſed without the leaſt reſiſtance.

This army, animated with a new ſpirit, marched to meet the king's forces near Oxford, and here was fought the deciſive battle of Naſeby, between the royaliſts and the parliamentarians. Cromwell, who was general of the

the horſe, after having defeated the king's cavalry, returned and fell upon the foot, which he likewiſe routed; and the honour of that celebrated victory was chiefly owing to him. The royal army was, after a great ſlaughter, all taken priſoners or diſperſed. All the towns threw open their gates to Cromwell and Fairfax. The young prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II. early a partaker in his father's calamities, was obliged to fly over to the iſles of Scilly. The king after his defeat retired with the ſhattered remains of his army to Oxford, and ſent propoſals for peace to the parliament, which they inſolently rejected, and even inſulted him in his misfortunes. Their general had ſent them a caſket of the king's, which was found on the field of battle, and contained his private letters to the queen. Many of theſe letters were filled only with expreſſions of grief and tenderneſs. Theſe were read openly in the houſe of commons, with all the bitter raillery which belongs to brutality. June 14, 1645

The king was in Oxford, a town almoſt deſtitute of fortifications, between the victorious army of the parliament on one ſide, and the Scotch army on the other. He now ſaw no other poſſibility of eſcaping, than that of throwing himſelf into the arms of the Scots, who were the leaſt rancorous of his enemies. Accordingly he repaired to the Scottiſh army, to whom he delivered himſelf up; but the parliament having paid the Scottiſh army the ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, which was due to them upon arrears, and promiſed

the payment of as much more, the king from that inſtant became a priſoner.

Feb. 16, 1645. The Scots delivered the king to the commiſſioners of the Engliſh parliament, who at firſt were puzzled in what manner to behave to their royal priſoner. The war appeared to be ended, the Scottiſh army was upon its march home, and the parliament had nothing to fear but from its own army, which had made it victorious. Cromwell and his independents were the maſters of the ſoldiery. This parliament, or rather houſe of commons, tho' ſtill all-powerful in London, was ſenſible that the army was aiming at the ſupreme authority, and therefore wanted to get rid of theſe troubleſome ſervants, who were become dangerous to their maſters; accordingly it was voted to ſend part of the forces into Ireland, and to diſband the reſt. It may eaſily be imagined whether or not Cromwell would ſuffer this? The critical moment was now arrived; he formed a council of officers, and another of private ſoldiers, called Agitators, who began by making remonſtrances and petitions, and ſoon afterwards gave laws to the parliament. The king was in the hands of the parliament's commiſſioners at Holmby-caſtle; a party of ſoldiers, of the council of agitators, went and took him by force from the caſtle, and brought him to the army at Newmarket.

After this bold ſtep, the army marched directly to London. Cromwell, being deſirous to colour over the violence of his proceedings with ſome ſhew of regularity, impeached eleven mem-

members of parliament, who were the declared enemies of the independent party, after which theſe members never dared to enter the houſe. The city of London at length opened its eyes when too late, and plainly perceived the misfortunes it had no longer the power to redreſs. It ſaw a tyrannical parliament tyrannized over by the army, its king a captive in the hands of the ſoldiery, and its citizens expoſed to imminent danger. The mayor and common-council raiſe the militia, and haſtily draw entrenchments round the city; but the army appearing at the gates, it threw them open, and quietly received its maſters. The parliament put the command of the Tower into Fairfax's hands, returned the army thanks for its diſobedience, and gratified the ſoldiers with a ſum of money. 1647

They were ſtill at a loſs how to diſpoſe of the king's perſon; the independents had removed him to Hampton-court. Cromwell and the preſbyterian party both entered into private treaty with him. The Scots likewiſe propoſed to him to carry him off. Charles, who equally dreaded all theſe parties, found means to make his eſcape from Hampton-court, and croſſed over to the iſle of Wight, where he thought to find an aſylum; inſtead of which he only met with a new priſon.

During this anarchy, the fatal conſequence of a factious and deſpiſed parliament, a divided capital, an inſolent army, and the flight and impriſonment of the lawful ſovereign, the ſame ſpirit which had ſo long animated the independents, on a ſudden took poſſeſſion of ſeveral of the common ſoldiers of the army, who formed

themſelves into a body under the name of Levellers, an appellation which ſignified their deſign of reducing every thing to an equality, and acknowledging no maſter, either in church, army, or ſtate. They did no more indeed than what the commons had done before them; they copied the examples of their officers, and their pretenſions ſeemed to the full as well founded as thoſe of the others. Their numbers were conſiderable; Cromwell finding that they were likely to become the more dangerous, as they acted upon his own principles; and that, if they were ſuffered to go on, they might deprive him of the fruit of all his policy and labour, formed the ſudden reſolution to quell them, at the hazard of his life. Accordingly he
1647 repaired to a meeting of thoſe levellers, with a guard of choſen men with whom he had always been victorious, and began to expoſtulate with them, deſiring to know in God's name what they wanted; and then fell upon them with ſuch fury, that they were unable to make any reſiſtance. He ordered ſome of the priſoners to be hanged upon the ſpot, and thus broke a faction, whoſe only crime was that of having followed his example.

This bold action greatly encreaſed his power, both in the army, the parliament, and the city of London. Sir Thomas Fairfax was ſtill general of the army, but far inferior in credit to Cromwell. The king, who was priſoner in the iſle of Wight, continued to make propoſals for peace, as if the war had not been already terminated, or that he thought his enemies would liſten to them. His ſecond ſon, the duke of York, afterwards king James II. who

who was then about fifteen years old, and was priſoner in St. James's palace, eſcaped more fortunately from his confinement than his father had done from Hampton-court, and retired to Holland. Some of the king's friends having at the ſame time gained over a part of the Engliſh fleet, ſteered with their ſquadron to the Brille, whither this young prince had retired, and delivered it to him. He immediately went on board, with his brother the prince of Wales, and ſet ſail for England, in order to aſſiſt their father; and this very aſſiſtance proved the means of haſtening his ruin.

The Scots, aſhamed of being looked upon by all Europe as a people who had ſold their king, aſſembled an army in his behalf, which was joined by ſeveral young noblemen, and others of the king's friends in England. Cromwell made forced marches to meet them with a part of the army, gave them battle at Preſton, entirely routed their forces, and took their general, duke Hamilton, priſoner. 1648 The town of Colcheſter, in the county of Eſſex, which had declared for the king, was compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion by Fairfax; and this general ſullied his victory by an act of cruelty, in cauſing ſeveral of the noblemen * who had engaged the inhabitants to take up arms for their prince, to be ſhot to death in his preſence.

While Fairfax and Cromwell were thus reducing all to their obedience, the commons, who dreaded Cromwell and the Independents

* Sir Charles Lucas and ſir George Liſle were put to death at Colcheſter.

even more than they had done the king, began to treat with that unhappy monarch, and tried all their efforts to get rid of an army, on which they could never afterwards place any dependance. The army, who was returned home victorious, demanded that the king ſhould be brought to juſtice, as the author of all the evils with which the kingdom had been afflicted; that the principal royaliſts ſhould be puniſhed; and that the prince of Wales and the duke of York ſhould be required to ſubmit within a certain limited time, or otherwiſe to be proclaimed traitors, and baniſhed for ever. To this addreſs the commons returned no anſwer. Cromwell procures petitions to be preſented to him from all the regiments in the army, praying that the king might be brought to trial. General Fairfax, who was ſtill ſo blinded as not to ſee that Cromwell only made uſe of him as a tool, cauſed the captive king to be removed from the iſle of Wight to Hurſt-caſtle *, and from thence to Windſor, without vouchſafing to give any account of his conduct to the parliament. He then marched with the army to London, ſeized on all the poſts, and obliged the city to ſupply him with forty thouſand pounds ſterling.

The next day, when the commons were going to their houſe, they found a guard at the door, who excluded the greater part of the preſbyterian members, the firſt beginners of thoſe troubles, of which they themſelves were the victims, and ſuffered none but independents to enter, or ſuch rigid preſbyterians as had

* Hurſt-caſtle is in Hampſhire, oppoſite to the iſle of Wight

always

always been implacable enemies to monarchy. The excluded members having publiſhed a proteſtation againſt the violence they had undergone, the two houſes declared it ſcandalous and ſeditious. This remnant of the houſe of commons conſiſted wholly of a ſet of burghers, the ſlaves of the army, whoſe officers exerciſed unlimited power in all proceedings; the city itſelf was held in ſubjection by them; and the common council, which had ſo lately declared for the king, now wholly under the direction of the victorious party, concurred in the petition to have him brought to trial.

The commons appointed a committee of eight and thirty perſons, to draw up a formal accuſation or impeachment of his majeſty; and a new court of juſtice was erected for trying him, of which Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton his ſon-in-law, Waller*, and other perſons, to the number of forty-ſeven, were appointed commiſſioners and judges. The few peers who ſtill continued to ſit in the upper houſe, only for form's ſake, the reſt having withdrawn, were formally ſummoned to aſſiſt at this trial; but not one of them would attend. However, their refuſal did not prevent the court from proceeding in its buſineſs.

The lower houſe now voted that the ſovereign power reſided originally in the people, and that the authority of the nation was in the hands of the repreſentatives of the people: this point, which the army determined by the voices of a few citizens, overturned the Engliſh conſtitution. The commons, aſſembled in par-

* Sir Hardreſs Waller.

liament, are doubtleſs the legal repreſentatives of the nation, but ſo likewiſe is the king and the peers. It has always been complained of, as a grievance, in other ſtates, when private perſons have been tried by commiſſioners; but here a ſovereign was tried by commiſſioners who were his own ſubjects, and appointed by an inconſiderable part of the parliament. It is not to be doubted, that the houſe of commons thought they had a right to act in this manner. It was chiefly compoſed of independents, who all of them imagined that nature had placed no difference between them and kings, and the only diſtinction was on the ſide of the ſtrongeſt. Ludlow, who was a colonel in the army, and one of the judges appointed on the king's trial, ſufficiently proves by his memoirs, how much their pride was ſecretly flattered by having it in their power to paſs ſentence on one who had formerly been their maſter; and as this ſame Ludlow was a rigid preſbyterian, there is no room to doubt that fanaticiſm had a great ſhare in this cataſtrophe; beſides, he fully explains the whole ſpirit of the times, by quoting this paſſage out of the Old Teſtament: "The land cannot be cleanſed from blood, but by the blood of him who ſhed it."

In ſhort, Cromwell, Fairfax, the independents, and the preſbyterians, all concurred in thinking the death of the king abſolutely neceſſary to their deſigns of ſetting up a commonwealth. Cromwell could not certainly flatter himſelf, at that time, with ſucceeding the king; he was only lieutenant-general in an army full of factions. He hoped, and with good reaſon, that the reputation he had gained

by his great military exploits would aquire him the firſt rank in that army, and in the republic, as well as an aſcendency over the minds of the people; but had he at that time formed the deſign of getting himſelf acknowledged ſovereign of the three kingdoms, he would not have deſerved to have been ſo. The mind of man proceeds in every undertaking only by degrees, and theſe degrees neceſſarily brought on Cromwell's elevation, who owed it entirely to his courage and good fortune.

Charles I. king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was beheaded by the hands of the executioner, at Whitehall, and his body afterwards removed to the church of Windſor, but has never been found ſince. There had been ſeveral inſtances formerly of kings of England depoſed by act of parliament, and of the wives of kings, who had fallen by the hands of the executioner. Mary queen of Scots had been ſentenced to death by Engliſh commiſſioners, who had no other right over her life, than what a robber has over the defenceleſs perſon who falls into his hands; but there had never yet been an inſtance of any people bringing their own ſovereign to the block, with all the pomp and ſolemnity of juſtice. We muſt go back three hundred years before our æra, to find an example of the like cataſtrophe, in the perſon of Agis king of Lacedemon. Feb. 10, 1648-9*

* Or January 30, 1648-9, O. S. The reader is requeſted to obſerve here, once for all, that Mr. de Voltaire every where makes uſe of the new ſtile, in his dates to tranſactions.

CHAP. CLI.

OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

AFTER the murder of Charles I. the commons publiſhed a proclamation, forbidding all perſons, on pain of death, to acknowledge the late king's ſon, or any other, as ſovereign of England. They likewiſe aboliſhed the houſe of lords, where there were but ſixteen peers ſitting; ſo that, in all appearance, they took into their own hands the ſovereignty of England and Ireland.

The houſe of commons, which ſhould be compoſed of * five hundred and thirteen members, conſiſted then of only eighty. A new great ſeal was ordered to be made, on which was engraved theſe words; "The parliament of the commonwealth of England." The king's ſtatue in the royal exchange had been already pulled down, and now this inſcription was affixed in its room; "Charles the laſt king, and the firſt tyrant."

This ſame houſe condemned to death ſeveral noblemen, who had been taken priſoners fighting for their king. It was nothing extraordinary, that thoſe who had violated the law of nations ſhould infringe the law of arms; to do which the more effectually, the duke of Hamilton, a Scottiſh nobleman, was in the number of thoſe devoted to death. This treatment was a principal means of determining the Scots to acknowledge Charles II. for their ſovereign; but at the ſame time the law of liberty was ſo deeply rivetted in all hearts, that they reſtric-

* Thus it was before the union; but it now conſiſts of five hundred and fifty-eight.

ted the royal authority within as narrow bounds as the Engliſh parliament had done at the beginning of the troubles. The Iriſh received their new king without conditions, Cromwell then got himſelf appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and immediately ſet out for that kingdom with the flower of the army, and was attended with his uſual ſucceſs.

In the mean time Charles II. was invited over to Scotland by the parliament of that kingdom, but on the ſame conditions as they had propoſed to his father. They inſiſted that he ſhould be a preſbyterian, as the Pariſians had inſiſted upon his grandfather Henry IV.'s becoming a Roman catholic. They reſtricted the royal prerogative in all things; whereas Charles was reſolved upon having it preſerved full and intire. His father's fate had in no wiſe weakened in him thoſe notions, which ſeem born in the heart of every monarch.

The firſt conſequence of his being proclaimed king of Scotland, was a civil war. The marquis of Montroſe, a nobleman famous in thoſe times for his perſonal valour and ſteady attachment to the royal family, had brought ſome ſoldiers from Germany and Denmark *, which he tranſported into the north of Scotland. Here he was joined by the Highlanders, and pretending to add the rights of conqueſt to thoſe of his maſter, he was defeated, taken, and hanged upon a gallows thirty foot high.

* The marquis of Montroſe brought a few Scotch officers from the continent: but he had no other troops than about 1200 Iriſh, and a few Highlanders, with whom he obtained ſeveral ſurpriſing victories, before he was defeated by David Leſly.

After

1656 After the death of Montroſe, the king finding himſelf abſolutely without other reſource, quitted Holland and put himſelf in the power of thoſe who had ſo lately hanged his general, and faithful friend and protector, and entered the city of Edinburgh by the very gate where the quarters of Montroſe were ſtill expoſed. The new commonwealth of England began to make inſtant preparations for a war with Scotland, reſolved that one half of the iſland ſhould not be an aſylum for a perſon who pretended to be king of the other likewiſe. This new commonwealth ſupported the change of government with as much prudence and conduct as it had ſhewn rage and fury in bringing it about; and it was an unheard of thing, that an handful of private citizens, without any chief to command them, ſhould keep the peers of the realm at a ſilent diſtance, ſtrip the biſhops of their dignity, reſtrain the people within bounds, maintain an army of ſixteen thouſand men in Ireland, and the ſame in England, ſupport a formidable fleet well provided with neceſſaries, and punctually pay all demands, without any one member of the houſe enriching himſelf at the nation's expence. To provide for ſo great a charge, they obſerved the ſtricteſt oeconomy in the management of the revenues formerly annexed to the crown, and made a ſale of the forfeited lands of the biſhops and chapters for ten years. In ſhort, the nation paid a tax of one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds ſterling per month; a tax ten times greater than that of ſhip-money, which Charles I. had attempted to raiſe by his own au-

authority, and which had been the firſt cauſe of ſo many diſaſters.

This parliament was not under Cromwell's direction, he being at that time on his Iriſh expedition, with his ſon-in-law Ireton; but it was chiefly guided by the independent party, who ſtill bore a great ſway. It was reſolved by the houſe to aſſemble an army againſt the Scots, and to ſend Cromwell thither, next in command under general Fairfax; accordingly he received orders to quit Ireland, which he had almoſt ſubdued. General Fairfax refuſed to accept the command of the army againſt the Scots. He was not an independent, but he was a preſbyterian, and pretended that his conſcience would not ſuffer him to attack his brethren, as they had not invaded England; and, notwithſtanding the earneſt ſollicitations of the houſe, reſigned his commiſſion, and retired to end his days in peace. This was no extraordinary reſolution, at a period, and in a country, where every one acted by his own rules. This however proved the æra of Cromwell's greatneſs, who was appointed general in the place of Fairfax, and marched into Scotland at the head of an army accuſtomed to victory for upwards of ten years. He beat the Scottiſh army at Dunbar, and immediately took poſſeſſion of the city of Edinburgh. From thence he went in purſuit of Charles, who was advanced into England as far as Worceſter, in hopes that the Engliſh royaliſts would riſe in his behalf and join him there; but his army conſiſted chiefly of new raiſed troops, raw and undiſciplined. Cromwell came up with, and attacked him on the banks

June, 1650

banks of the Severn; and gained, after very little resiſtance *, the completeſt victory that had ever crowned his arms. He carried near ſeven thouſand priſoners to London, who were ſold as ſlaves to the American planters. The victorious army made itſelf maſter of all Scotland, while Cromwell purſued the king from place to place.

Sept. 13, 1650

Imagination, the parent of fiction, never conceived a train of more extraordinary adventures, more preſſing dangers, or more cruel extremities, than thoſe which Charles experienced in his flight from his father's murderer. He was obliged to travel almoſt alone through by-paths half ſpent with hunger and fatigue, till he arrived in Staffordſhire. There he concealed himſelf a whole night and day, in the hollow of a large oak in the midſt of a wood †, ſurrounded by Cromwell's ſoldiers, who were every where in ſearch of him. The oak was ſtill to be ſeen at the beginning of this century. Aſtronomers have given it a place among the conſtellations of the ſouthern pole, and have thus perpetuated the remembrance of theſe diſaſters. This prince, after wandering from village to village, ſometimes diſguiſed like a poſtilion, ſometimes in woman's apparel, and

* The battle laſted ſeveral hours, during which the brigade commanded by William duke of Hamilton, brother of him who was beheaded, fought with great gallantry, until general Middleton was dangerouſly hurt, the duke mortally wounded, and the greateſt part of his officers ſlain or diſabled.

† It was at Boſcobel in Shropſhire, that the king and colonel Carleſs concealed themſelves among the branches of an oak.

ſome-

ſometimes like a wood-cutter, at length found means to eſcape in a ſmall fiſhing-boat, and was ſafely landed in Normandy, after having undergone, for ſix weeks, a train of adventures that almoſt exceed credibility. Nov. 1650

Cromwell in the mean time returned to London in triumph. He was met a few miles from the city by the ſpeaker of the houſe, accompanied by ſeveral of the members, and the mayor and magiſtrates of London in their formalities. The firſt thing he did, after his return, was to perſuade the parliament to an abuſe of the victory their troops had gained, and which was ſo flattering to the Engliſh. The houſe paſſed an act for incorporating Scotland, as a conquered country, with the Engliſh commonwealth, and royalty was aboliſhed among the conquered, as it had already been among the victors.

Never had England been more powerful than ſince it had become a commonwealth. The parliament, which was wholly compoſed of republicans, formed the extraordinary project of joining the ſeven United Provinces to England, as it had lately incorporated Scotland. The ſtadtholder, William II. ſon-in-law to Charles I. was lately dead, after having attempted to make himſelf abſolute in Holland, as Charles I. had attempted it in England, but with no better ſucceſs. He left a ſon in the cradle*; and the Engliſh parliament hoped that the Dutch would as eaſily give up their ſtadtholder as the Engliſh had done its monarch, in which caſe the united republic of England, 1651

* The child was not born till after the father's death.

Scot-

Scotland, and Holland, might hold the balance of Europe; but the friends to the houſe of Orange, having vigorouſly oppoſed this project, which favoured greatly of the enthuſiaſm of the times, this very enthuſiaſm determined the Engliſh parliament to declare war againſt Holland. The two republics had ſeveral engagements at ſea with various ſucceſs. Some of the wiſeſt among the members, who began to dread Cromwell's great influence and power, concurred in carrying on the war, that they might have a pretence for encreaſing the navy expence, which might oblige the parliament to diſband the army, and thus by degrees overthrow the dangerous power of the general.

Cromwell ſaw into their ſchemes, as they had penetrated into his; and now he threw off the maſk entirely, and ſhewed himſelf in his proper colours. He told major general Vernon that, "He was compelled to do that which made his hair ſtand an end." He haſtened to the houſe with a detachment of choſen men, and followed by the officers, who were moſt at his devotion, and ſet a guard upon the door; then he entered and took his place, and after ſome little pauſe, "Methinks, ſaid he, this parliament is ripe enough to be diſſolved." Some of the members having reproached him with ingratitude, he ſtarted up in the middle of the houſe, and exclaimed, "The Lord has done with you, and has made choice of other inſtruments." After this fanatic ſpeech he reviled all preſent in the moſt opprobrious terms, reproaching one as a drunkard, another as a whoremaſter, and telling them all that the goſpel condemned them, and that they had nothing to

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do but to diſſolve themſelves immediately. His officers and ſoldiers then entered the houſe, where pointing to the mace he bade one of them "Take away that bauble." Major-general Harriſon then went up to the ſpeaker and obliged him to leave the chair by violence; Cromwell then turning to the members, "It is you, added he, that have forced me upon this. I have prayed to the Lord night and day that he would rather ſlay me than put me upon this work." Having ſaid this, he turned out all the members one by one, locked the door himſelf, and carried away the key in his pocket.

What is ſtill more ſtrange is, that the parliament being thus diſſolved by force, and there being no acknowledged legiſlative authority, every thing did not fall into confuſion. Cromwell called a council of his officers, and it was by them that the conſtitution of the ſtate was truly changed. On this occaſion that happened in England which we have already ſeen happen in all countries in the world; the ſtrong gave laws to the weak.

At Cromwell's inſtigation this council nominated one hundred and forty-four perſons to repreſent the nation in parliament; theſe were chiefly taken from the loweſt claſs of the people, ſuch as ſhop-keepers, and journeymen handicraſts. One of the moſt active members of this parliament was a leather-ſeller, named Barebones, from whom this aſſembly was called Barebones' parliament.

Cromwell, as general, ſent a written order to all theſe members, requiring them to come and take upon them the ſovereign power, and to govern the nation. This aſſembly, after ſitting

ſitting five months, during which time it became the object of ridicule and contempt to the whole nation, came to a reſolution to diſſolve itſelf, and reſigned the ſovereign power into the hands of the council of war, who thereupon, of their own authority, declared Cromwell protector of the three kingdoms, and ſent for the lord mayor and aldermen to join in the ſame. Oliver was then conducted to Whitehall with great ceremony, and there inſtalled in the royal palace, where he afterwards took up his reſidence. He was honoured with the title of "Your Highneſs;" and the city of London invited him to a feaſt, where the ſame honours were ſhewn him as had been paid to their kings. Thus did a private gentleman of Wales*, from an amazing conjunction of courage and hypocriſy, riſe to the kingly power, though under another name.

He was near fifty-three years of age when he attained the ſovereign power, forty-two years of which time he had paſſed without having had any employ, civil or military. He was hardly known in 1642, when the houſe of commons, of which he was a member, gave him a commiſſion for major of horſe. From this beginning it was that he roſe to be maſter of that houſe and the army; and after having ſubdued Charles I. and his ſon, ſtept into their throne; and without being king reigned more abſolutely and fortunately than any king had ever done. He choſe a council conſiſting of fourteen of the principal officers, who had been

* He was born at Huntingdon, of a good family, though he inherited but a ſmall eſtate from his father.

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the companions of his fortunes, to each of whom he aſſigned a penſion of a thouſand pounds ſterling. The forces were paid one month's advance; the magazines of all kinds were regularly ſupplied. In the treaſury, of which he had the ſole management, there were three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, and about one hundred and fifty thouſand in that of Ireland. The Dutch ſued to him for peace, and he dictated the conditions, which were, that they ſhould pay him three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; that the ſhips of the ſtates general ſhould pay the compliment to the Britiſh flag; and that the young prince of Orange ſhould never be reſtored to the offices or poſts of his anceſtors. This was the ſame prince, who afterwards dethroned James II. as Cromwell had dethroned his father.

All the nations of Europe vied with each other in courting the protector. France courted his alliance againſt Spain, and put Dunkirk into his hands. His admirals took the iſland of Jamaica from the Spaniards, which has ever ſince remained with the Engliſh. Ireland was entirely ſubdued, and treated like a conquered country. The eſtates of the vanquiſhed were beſtowed upon the victors, and thoſe who were moſt attached to the royal cauſe died by the hands of the common executioner.

Cromwell, who governed with all the authority of a king, convoked ſeveral parliaments; but, as he was always their maſter, he diſſolved them whenever he pleaſed. He diſcovered all the plots that were formed againſt him, and prevented many inſurrections. The peers were wholly excluded from his parliaments, and lived

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in obſcurity on their reſpective eſtates. He had the addreſs to prevail on one of theſe parliaments to make him a tender of the royal dignity, that he might refuſe it, and by that means more effectually ſecure his real power. He reſided in the royal palace, where he lived a retired and gloomy life, without the leaſt pomp or extravagance. General Ludlow, who was his lieutenant in Ireland relates, that when the protector ſent his ſon Henry Cromwell over to that kingdom, he ſent only one ſervant to attend him. He was always of a moroſe diſpoſition: he was ſober, temperate, ſaving, though not greedy of another's poſſeſſions: he was diligent and punctual in all public affairs. By his dexterous management he kept well with all ſects: he did not perſecute either thoſe of the Romiſh communion, or of the church of England, who now hardly dared to ſhew their heads: he had chaplains of all parties: he was an enthuſiaſt with the fanatics, (now called the Preſbyterians,) whom he had cheated, ſubdued, and no longer feared; and would laugh at them, with the deiſts, placing confidence only in the independents, who could not ſubſiſt but through him. By this conduct he preſerved to his laſt hour an authority which had been cemented with blood, and ſupported by force and artifice.

1656

Sept. 13, 1658 Notwithſtanding his ſobriety, nature had limited his life to fifty-eight years. He died of a common fever, occaſioned probably by the anxiety of mind ever attendant upon tyranny; for towards the latter part of his life, he was under continual ap-

apprehenſions of being aſſaſſinated: he never lay two nights together in the ſame room. At his death he nominated his ſon Richard his ſucceſſor in the protectorſhip. As ſoon as the breath was out of his body, one of his preſbyterian chaplains named Herries, comforted the by-ſtanders with this ſpeech: "Do not be diſmayed, as he protected the lord's people ſo long as he remained amongſt us, he will protect us ſtill more powerfully, now that he is aſcended into heaven, where he will be ſeated at the right hand of Chriſt." The ſpirit of fanaticiſm was ſo powerful at that time, and Cromwell was held in ſuch high eſteem, that no one laughed at this ridiculous notion.

Notwithſtanding the different intereſts which prevailed at that time, Richard Cromwell was peaceably proclaimed protector in London. The council iſſued an order for the funeral of the deceaſed protector, which was more magnificent than that of any of the kings of England. They choſe as a model on this occaſion the ceremonial which had been uſed at the death of Philip II. king of Spain. It is to be obſerved, that Philip was repreſented as being in purgatory for two months, in an apartment hung with black, and lighted with only a few tapers. He was afterwards repreſented as in heaven. The body was laid on a bed, richly adorned with gold, in an apartment hung with cloth of the ſame, and illuminated with upwards of five hundred tapers, the light of which was again reflected from ſilver plates, which formed a luſtre equal to that of the ſun at noon-day. The ſame ceremony was obſerved at Oliver's funeral.

funeral. He was laid on a bed of ſtate, with the crown on his head, and a golden ſceptre in his hand. The people gave little attention either to this imitation of a Romiſh ceremony, nor the magnificence with which it was accompanied. The dead body was embalmed and depoſited in the royal vault, from whence Charles II. after his reſtoration, cauſed it to be removed, and expoſed upon a gallows.

End of the FIFTH VOLUME.